This book does that which has not before been attempted. It presents to the public, using material gathered from authentic sources, each important day of Woodrow Wilson's career arranged in chronological order. The compilation gives and represents in his own words all the ideals and everything for which Wilson stood. It offers, clearly, an answer to the question, "Just what did Woodrow Wilson do, that he became a universally acknowledged world figure during the Great War, and what definite things entitle him to rank forever among the foremost of mankind?"

In addition to this chronological table, is a wealth of other valuable Wilson material: a résumé of his life, a description of his honors, degrees and offices; copies of the most important of his addresses, war messages, appeals to the people of his own and other nations; statements and correspondence concerning the Peace Treaty during his term as leader of our nation, and the full text of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

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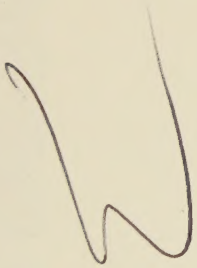

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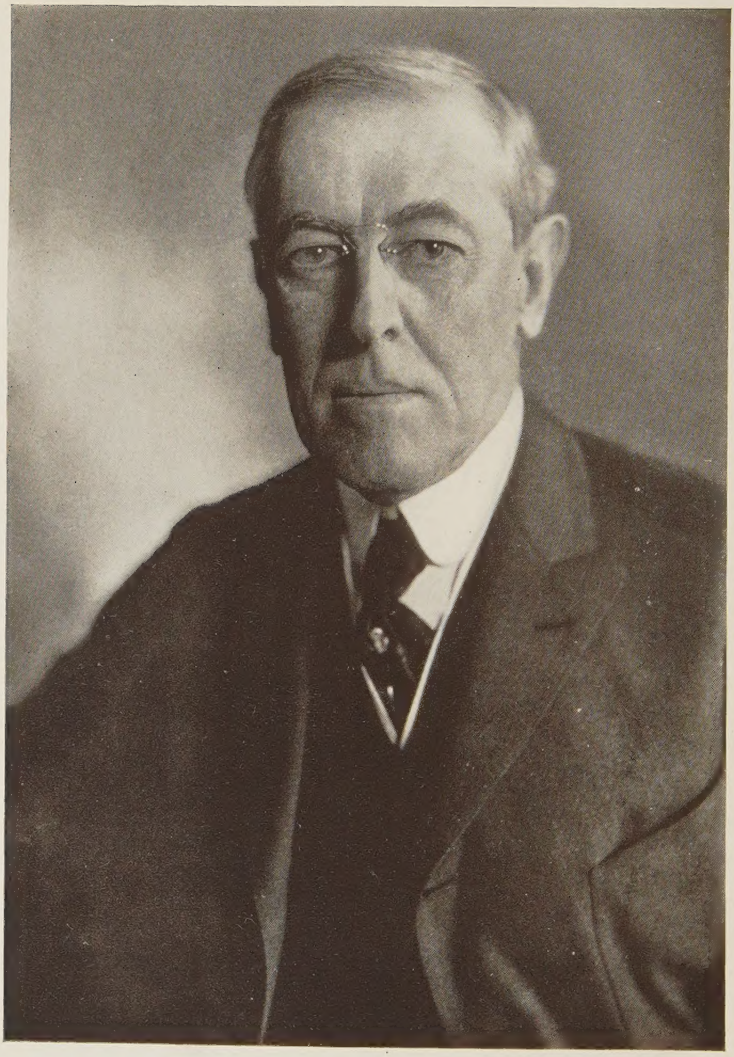

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Woodrow Wilson

CHRONOLOGY OF WOODROW WILSON

TOGETHER WITH
HIS MOST NOTABLE ADDRESSES, A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT

COMPILED FOR
MARY VANDERPOOL PENNINGTON

BY
JOHN RANDOLPH BOLLING
AND OTHERS

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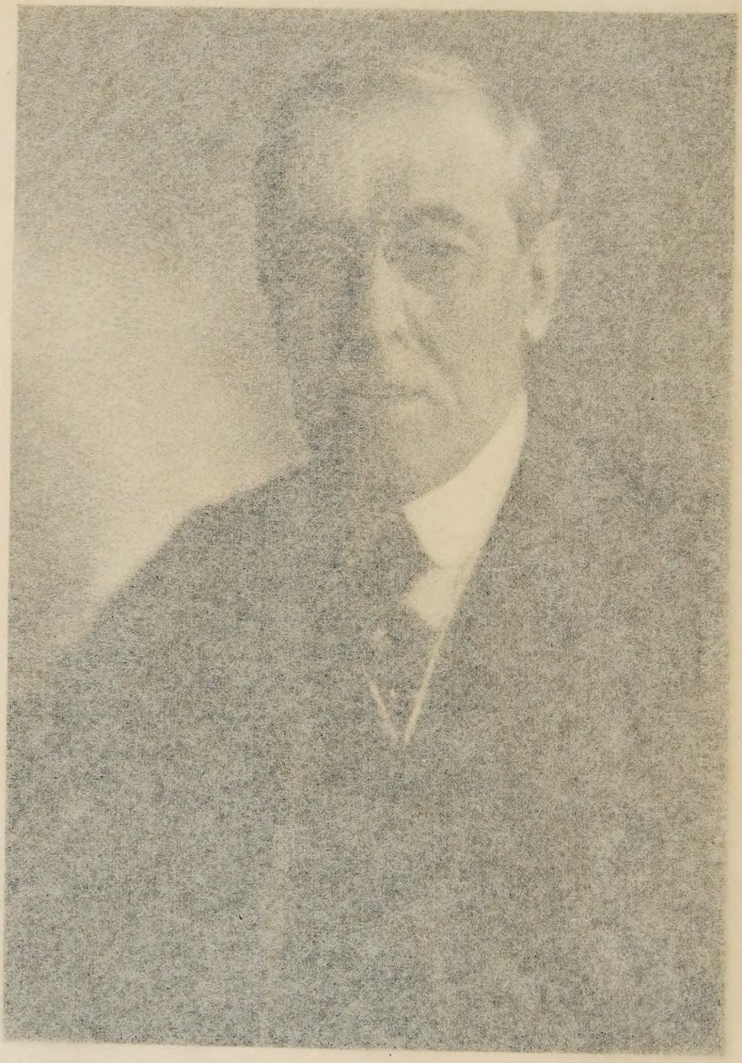

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Woodrow Wilson

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MAGNA EST VERITAS ET PRAEVALEBIT

PREFACE

It is often asked what Woodrow Wilson did that he became the universally acknowledged dominating world figure during the Great War, and what entitles him to rank forever among the foremost of mankind.

This publication undertakes to answer this question in as brief and concise a form as can possibly be put forward, giving only easily accessible and verifiable Facts, and the Dates relating thereto.

Woodrow Wilson enriched the world as a student, a writer of books on government and historical subjects, an instructor of men, an eminently successful University President, a reform Governor of a great State, and one of the greatest Presidents of the United States.

He was essentially a Crusader: he knew no fear: he fought for the common good of the whole people.

He lifted up agriculture by the Federal Farm Loan Act and he reduced the burdens of unjust taxation by his Tariff Act.

He gave to the people the Federal Reserve Banking System—perhaps the soundest banking system in the world—which not only greatly benefited our own people, but as well enabled us to finance our Allies in the common effort to prevent civilization from destruction.

His foreign policy was based upon the firm conviction that nations should be as moral as individuals, and he declined to recognize a foreign Government whose President acquired his title through assassination.

He led the world, during the World War, in its attempt to save civilization from destruction; and the

final success of the Allied and Associated Powers was in no small measure due to his leadership.

He gave to the world the League of Nations, under which the strongest nations have joined with the weakest, in the grim determination to secure and maintain peace throughout the world.

He revealed to humanity the truth that sympathy and coöperation, rather than envy and hatred, should be the maxim of international policy. He was a deeply religious man. He had the courage, born of his religious convictions, to fight fearlessly for what he believed to be right, utterly oblivious of the effect upon his own personal prestige.

This fearless courage in action often resulted in severe criticism and opposition, leaving him for the time in apparent isolation. The real character of this isolation, however, will appear from these words of Thoreau, the Concord philosopher:

> "If I fail to keep step with others, it is because I hear a different drummer."

The world, at last, has begun to comprehend who the Drummer was to whom Woodrow Wilson listened, and is now following this same Drummer, eager to reach the goal of peace.

In the last analysis, men are rated by their fellowmen according to the value of their service to mankind. There is no other standard of world merit, though recognition of man and work is rarely immediately universal. Thus, nearly a century after the founding of the American Republic, Lincoln could truly speak of the war then being fought as "testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure."

Washington had the indispensable support and assistance of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, the Marquis de La Fayette, Alexander Hamilton and those other great men who as peers and associates mutually pledged and gave "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor" THAT A GREAT EXPERIMENTAL IDEAL SHOULD SUCCEED.

But though the ideals Woodrow Wilson strove to extend were the same, and purely and essentially American ideals, he wrought alone; and it is a remarkable and significant fact that at the great historic period of which we now write, among his fellow-countrymen he found no peers; his name and character and labor alone transcend, standing out preëminent, towering far above all others, in proportion as in wisdom, foresight, compassion and courage he excelled all other men of his time.

By his unquestioned sincerity, his indomitable will, profound and brilliant mind, most tender heart, sublime and dauntless courage, and stainless and inviolable honor, he raised the broken heart of Humanity to a new and glorious vision of hopes and counsels that lead onward toward the great goal set and preached two thousand years ago, "Peace on Earth, Goodwill toward Men."

He gave up his life for his ideals. He lived, however, long enough to project those ideals into reality, and his work will be carried on by the nations of the world to final completion.

Our children and our children's children will rise up and call his memory blessed.

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CHRONOLOGY OF WOODROW WILSON

THE early youth and boyhood of Woodrow Wilson were distinguished by the refinement and high type of his home life, associations and teachings. His ancestry was of Scotch and Irish origin. His people for generations were notable for education, culture and conscientious character.

As student, he gave no special promise of later great renown, but was early noticed rather for breadth of intelligence and interest than for any particularly noteworthy high standing in his classes.

As professor, it soon became evident he possessed unusual ability, and he was everywhere, and by every one, held in increasingly high esteem and respect. At Princeton, with advancing maturity, the brilliance and fascination of his striking mentality, humour and character began more and more to develop and declare itself. His classes and lectures became the popular and enthusiastically attended feature of the University curriculum.

When he became President of the University, the general outline and direction of his great career began to become apparent. Events seemed predestined to array him from the first against the use of power in any form for selfish or individual interests or purposes. Thus, as inevitably as day follows night, democratization of university and social life became more and more his crystallized hope and aim. Naturally this met with

instant and violent opposition, as it always does from those holding contrary views. As his objective was invariably based on principle and never on personal grounds, it was impossible for him to ignore the bases from which his actions sprung. He could not compromise with principle. His reputation grew very rapidly, and the country's attention became attracted to what he was doing.

He was called to the Governorship of New Jersey, and elected by astonishing majorities. He continued to press forward, guiding his actions by principle only, putting to shameful rout the unspeakable and disgraceful political influences that menaced the State's honor and welfare, and never for a moment receding, changing his true course, or palliating or compounding with the forces of dishonor.

Now his fame became national.

In 1912 he entered the contest for Presidency in a campaign so clean, so high, so remarkable and inspiring, that the whole Nation was stirred; he was elected under thrilling circumstances, and a few words from contemporaneous public print may not be quoted amiss here; for if coming events cast their shadows before them, in the light of all that happened later, the following excerpts may almost be said to be prophetic.

Editorial, Newark *Evening News,* March 5, 1913:

AN INAUGURATION OF AN ERA

Through human pageantry, those gifted with imagination can see the majestic march of the history of the world. In the mind's eye, the genius of a people becomes personified, and the display and ceremonial expresses a momentous decision.

It is, indeed, a blind man who has not seen the fact that

behind the customary routine of a Presidential inauguration, the induction of President Wilson marks something more important than the change of a political party, a new tariff schedule, a new financial system or a new solution of the trust problem. It is, indeed, a man comfortably unconscious of the stirring life of the nation who does not realize the fact that we have come to one of the turning-points of this people's history, that the old America can be with us no longer, that we must now choose in what way we are to create a new America, and that the decisions of this administration, right or wrong, permanent or transitory, are the first milestones on the path which is to determine our destinies.

Providence has been kind to this nation in affording us strong and able men at our crucial periods. At this point the guidance of the nation has fallen into the hands of a man both intellectually and morally thorough and honest, and, moreover, remarkably equipped with fundamental understanding of our national career. He expresses the old American spirit of individual opportunity to a degree that it has been given few to grasp. His task will be the fitting of that ideal to the America of to-day, with the penalty that a possible failure, whether of his fault, his party's fault, or because of the superficial and silly blindness of those who have no excuse for not knowing better, may afford only the alternative of a burdensome and inquisitorial bureaucracy, paternalistic at the beginning, socialistic at its probable end, at any event marking to a great degree the surrender of much of the old ideals of American opportunity to individuals.

In the sober and reverent inaugural address with which he marked the assumption of his responsibilities is evident the appreciation that Wilson has of what is before him, and in the closing sentences is the appeal of a strong man that those who can understand will join with him in marking out aright the new course of the nation.

Editorial, New York *Evening Post,* March 5, 1913:

THE INAUGURAL AND ITS POLICY

President Wilson's Inaugural Address is one of those things from which words of praise fall away ashamed. The utterance is so much finer than any comment. Mr. Wilson long since took his place in the minds of the judicious as our best public speaker. Now the whole country sees him rise to his full height. * * * We are confident that his inaugural will cause the hearts of his countrymen to burn within them as they read it. To its moving and solemn note of appeal they cannot turn deaf ears. It made noble use of a great occasion. The results it will be of absorbing interest to study. They are certain to be big with political changes; they may mean the beginning of a wholly new epoch. * * * *

Who will set any limits to the energizing of reform and the quickening of the humane spirit which may be wrought by such a man as Woodrow Wilson in the Presidency of the United States!

In the following paragraphs of surpassing beauty, strength and nobility, Woodrow Wilson concluded his First Inaugural Address:

"Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto. And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heart-strings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to under-

stand our time and the need of our people,—whether we be indeed their spokesman and interpreter,—whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

"This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me."

With these majestic words President Wilson may be said to have unfurled his standard before the world—"Courage, Justice, Honor, Service, Faithfulness." This standard was never lowered, never stained, never dimmed. From its high resolve he never swerved, nor by a hair's breadth departed. And wrapped therein as with a glorious garment, he went finally to his eternal rest, famed forever for having kept the good faith, the high tryst with the loftiest concepts of mankind. He walked uprightly, worked righteousness, spoke the truth in his heart, used no deceit in his tongue, swore to his own hurt and changed not. "He that doeth these things shall never fall."

During his first administration, by his firmness, determination and resolution, he carried through Congress by the sheer force of his virile intention, great measures for the country's benefit and welfare which had been for years desired and demanded, but their accomplishment never attempted.

Among the more notable of these were the reform of the obsolete Currency System, and the establishment

of the Federal Reserve Banking System, considered by the world as the greatest piece of financial legislation of modern times, and of incalculable value to the business and banking interests of the entire country, though bitterly and almost unanimously opposed by them as political antagonists of the President at the time; the creation of the United States Tariff Commission, an independent bureau designed to remove the tariff from political control; and the revision of the Tariff by the most equitable and scientifically framed law in the history of the country, putting on the free list such necessities of life as coal, boots, shoes, eggs, milk, cream, wool, wheat, leather, lumber, iron ore, pig iron, steel rails and many other products, thus benefiting in the most practical way the people as a whole; the establishment of the United States Department of Labor, and the Woman's Bureau of the Department of Labor, a service which has proved of incalculable value to women in industry; the passage of the Clayton Anti-Trust Law, doing away with interlocking directorates and setting business comparatively free. This is regarded as the Magna Charta of Labor. It recognizes the workman's right to strike and specifically confines injunction to guarding property when there is no other adequate remedy in law; the passage of the Seaman's Law, improving conditions on ships, and granting American seamen more rights and privileges than are granted in any other country in the world; the establishment of the Federal Farm Credits and Loans System, an inestimable boon to farmers, creating banks which make long-time loans to them, a proportionate part of the principal being added to each interest payment, thus completely wiping out the debt at its maturity. The total installments paid by the farmer on these loans, including both interest and prin-

cipal payments, are less than the interest paid on farm mortgages prior to the passage of this act; the repeal of the Panama Tolls Act, which had exempted American shipping from paying tolls for passage through the Canal, contrary to our treaty obligations with England; and the passage of the following Constitutional Amendments: the famous Eighteenth Amendment, providing for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, and the Nineteenth Amendment, granting the right of suffrage to women.

Comparison between this vast amount of beneficial domestic legislation and that enacted during the preceding fifty years of Congressional action, will give an approximate idea of its true source, value, importance and extent.

The first year of these memorable accomplishments had hardly terminated, when the Great War broke with terror on the world. From the first, Woodrow Wilson showed incredible grasp and comprehension of the situation as a whole, both at home and abroad. Far more cognizant than the world at large dreamed he was of the singularly complex and dangerous conditions confronting him, and the country, and the world, he cautioned the already separating and divisive elements of our own national composition to remain neutral, and waited for a united sentiment in the whole land to back him when and if the moment came to enter the dreadful conflict; in the meantime never ceasing to use his incalculable personal and national influence to further the end of Peace should it become possible first. As early as December, 1914, unostentatiously and in a manner to cause neither comment nor alarm, Woodrow Wilson began quietly to shape and develop the general policy of national preparedness, which under his insistent and persuasive influence, as-

sumed vast proportions within the next eighteen months. In 1915 he still more earnestly urged on Congress a wide and comprehensive general program, including immediate measures for increasing the army and navy, the enlistment of 400,000 disciplined citizen-soldiers, and an adequate merchant marine (see his speeches of 1915–1916), to which the country as a whole showed great indifference. But he went before the people, pressing the case, and by his unremitting and most energetic efforts, and a series of magnificent addresses, carried through Congress the greatest army and naval program and preparation bill in the history of the country.

In 1917, with a united people calm and determined behind him, he recommended the declaration of war, in the never-to-be-forgotten message of April 2,* followed by the selective draft, and the various other measures putting the nation on the wonderful and most efficient footing for immediate and thorough prosecution of its worthy part in winning the war.

Previous to this, Woodrow Wilson had already become the acknowledged moral leader as the incomparable and brilliant spokesman of the whole civilized world, awakening its conscience, quickening its heart, stimulating, elevating, revivifying its sense of duty, and revealing as it never before had been revealed, its unparalleled opportunity for service to mankind.

In 1918, nine months after America entered the war, the course and termination of the great conflict already began to be dimly discernible; and Woodrow Wilson went before Congress and, in a larger sense, before the world, and laid down in general outline the main terms of the coming Peace, known as the Fourteen Points.* The following editorial comment of

* See text in full Appendix B.

the day gives a fair idea of the country's response to this address:

Editorial, New York *Tribune*, January 9, 1918:

Beyond Praise

Mr. Wilson's Address to Congress yesterday will live as one of the great documents in American history and one of the permanent contributions of America to World Liberty. In form, as in substance, the President's statement is beyond praise; he has spoken what his country felt; he has translated from vague aspiration to clear and definite fact, the war aims of his fellow countrymen.

In a very deep sense Mr. Wilson's words constitute a second Emancipation Proclamation. As Lincoln freed the slaves of the South half a century ago, Mr. Wilson now pledges his country to fight for the liberation of the Belgian and the Pole, the Serb and the Rumanian. For the long-suffering populations of Alsace-Lorraine and the Italian Irredenta the words of the President of the United States are a promise of freedom after a slavery worse a thousand times than that of the negro.

It is not to the comment upon the details of the President's proposal that attention will be first directed. There is something far greater, far more appealing than the details, however admirable. In a sense the President has created, has visualized to a whole world, the rôle of America in the time of supreme tragedy. Without a selfish ambition, without hope or covert thought of selfish advantage, the United States has entered a world war to restore justice, honor, liberty in a world assailed by German barbarism and German ambition.

And it is not in pursuit of any abstract ideal of justice or liberty that the President leads his fellow-countrymen. He has defined the frontiers and written the constitution of that new world for which we fight. He has heard the cry of subject races and he has listened to the appeal of the weak and the enslaved. He has turned his own eyes and the vision of his nation

upon the wrongs that must be righted before there can be peace or thought of peace.

President Wilson has done nothing finer; there is nothing more admirable in American history than his address of yesterday. In a single speech he has transformed the whole character, and broken with all the tradition of American policy. He has carried the United States back to Europe; he has established an American world policy and an ideal of international policy throughout the civilized world.

Somehow, when one has read the President's speech there must come to him, if he be an American, a certain sense of satisfaction unknown to present generations. If a nation is anything beyond a mere association of human beings herded in a restricted area of territory, it is an idea and an ideal.

There is a certain picture of one's country, almost unformed, which every loyal citizen carries in his mind and heart, a picture that contains noble lines and splendid features, and the President has translated what was a fancy and a dream into a fact. He has made us prouder of being Americans, because he has made America mean something more than it ever did before, for us, and for the world.

In a very real sense Mr. Wilson is leading his people on what may prove the last crusade. We are going to rescue Belgium and France, Poland and Serbia from a slavery worse than death. But, more even than this, we are going to rescue human liberty from the peril of the most ignoble servitude mankind has known.

Mr. Wilson has not merely indicated American war aims and peace terms. He has illuminated them; he has established them, and they will remain established in the American mind and heart until this great struggle has that settlement which alone can bring real peace. No one can now ask for what we fight or on what terms we will make peace.

Leadership, after all, consists in arousing in the millions not a sense of obedience, but a desire to follow. The greatest single merit of Mr. Wilson's latest address is that it will consolidate a nation behind its Chief Executive, and establish in all minds the conviction that of right, and with full accuracy,

and accepted authority, he speaks for them. The President's words are the words of a hundred million. The President's war aims are their aims. And it is not a little or a transient thing to have spoken the will of a hundred million in the presence of one of the greatest crises in all human history. Reading Mr. Wilson's words, every American must feel he has lived through one of the great moments of national history.

The country owes a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Wilson; the nations more directly assailed by German arms owe an equal debt. He has given to them a promise of deliverance; he has assigned to his fellow-countrymen the noblest rôle that citizens of a free state can fill. To-day, as never before, the whole nation marches with the President, certain alike of the leader and the cause.

Our soldiers were already pouring overseas; our country under Wilson's faultless statesmanship making, as one, the stupendous preparation for concluding, on lofty grounds, this war to end war. The end was in sight, and it can fairly be said that the whole world rose to and approved the great and truly inspired conception of the last of the Fourteen Points, the one great essential agreed on by all as incontrovertibly necessary for the establishment and preservation of any permanent peace, the formation of a League of Nations.

As under his administration of Princeton, it became one of the leading and foremost universities in the country, so now under Woodrow Wilson's great and most effective leadership the United States assumed the foremost position in world affairs ever held by any nation in the world's history, morally, financially, and in power, respect and renown. And Woodrow Wilson's great and shining fame now circled the globe. The Wilsonian principle of counsel, of mercy, of defense of the rights of the weaker members of mankind's

great family of nations, of justice to the weak (that loftiest of human ideals, devotion to which made his name better known and to a greater number than that of any one who has ever lived, and to the farthermost parts of the earth, as unequivocally associated with justice, with honor and with right), now brought the whole world to acclaim this new application of the Monroe Doctrine as of first importance as a world law. And peace was made on these astounding and inconceivably lofty principles.

We now come to Woodrow Wilson's chief and last supremely great constructive contribution to the progress of civilization—the formation of the League of Nations,* without which the great war would have been fought in vain, barren of accomplishment, sterile of result, with nothing gained by the measureless sacrifice and woe and anguish suffered by the world but the probable complete destruction of civilization in a near future. The League of Nations, prerequisite of peace, and pledged in advance by all, now became the very cornerstone of peace, the keystone of the shining arch through which humanity should march to the longed-for goal.

The object of the League is clearly set forth in the opening paragraph of the Covenant,† study of which shows it to be a most remarkable document.

It will unquestionably rank with Magna Charta, and

* "To Woodrow Wilson belongs the undying fame, which will grow with the growing centuries, of having saved the Covenant of the League of Nations—the last and greatest of the Fourteen Points—for his was the power and the will that carried it through. No other statesman but Wilson could have done it. And he did it. No one ever will deny him that honor, and the honor is very great indeed."—*General the Right Honorable Jan Christian Smuts, Premier of the Union of South Africa, Member of the Peace Conference, Paris, 1919.*

† See text in full, Appendix C.

the American Constitution, as a political instrument truly momentous in the history of mankind. Like them, it marks a vital change in the methods of government of man, for it is the first organized attempt in history to set up definite international political machinery with the clearly avowed intention of putting an end to war as a method of settling international disputes. Through the elimination of several of the most serious known causes of war—conspicuous among them territorial acquisition by force, secret agreements and treaties, and the lasting bitterness of defeat—*it seeks to minimize the likelihood of war,* by unanimous agreement to prevent such territorial aggrandizement; by publication and registration of all treaties openly arrived at; and, by the tremendous principle involved in Woodrow Wilson's famous words, "Peace without Victory," to organize, focus and liberate that greatest of all forces, public opinion—to which, when informed of the truth, mankind can safely trust its destiny and redress.

To accomplish this—the preservation of civilization through international coöperation—the League of Nations was organized by all the great nations concerned in this profoundly impressive and supremely important undertaking, and for the first time in the history of civilized society all the members thereof unite in conference, in permanent partnership, as mutual friends, in the interest of peace, agreeing, by common consent, to stand sponsor for the preservation of civilization, notice being thereby given that hereafter it will not be a matter of conjecture whether the nations of the world will combine against a wrongdoer, but a matter of certainty—"for it is idle to say the world will combine against you, for it may not. But it is persuasive

to say the world is combined against you," as Woodrow Wilson said.

Without excitement, without oratory, without ceremony, this great innovation in the government of mankind was unanimously adopted, accepted and agreed to, on the 28th day of April, 1919.

The outstanding magnitude of this great creative achievement fixes for all time the value and quality of the character and genius of Woodrow Wilson, and his relation to Humanity and the World.

He leaves an imperishable fame, second to that of no man who has ever lived.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

"Well, what are ages and the lapse of Time,
Matched against Truths as lasting as sublime?
Can length of years or God Himself exact,
Or make that fiction which was once a Fact?"

"Above all things, Truth beareth away the Victory."

WOODROW WILSON

SCHOLAR. STATESMAN. PATRIOT.

SAVIOR OF CIVILIZATION.

Born December 28, 1856. Died February 3, 1924.

PRESIDENT OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
1902–1911

GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY
1911–1913

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
1913–1921

FOUNDER OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE *

Chief Events in the Career of Woodrow Wilson

1856. December 28. Woodrow Wilson was born at Staunton, Augusta County, Virginia, the third child of Rev. Joseph Ruggles Wilson and Janet Woodrow, who were married June 7, 1849.

James Wilson, grandfather of Woodrow Wilson, came to the United States in 1807. On November 1, 1808, he married Anne Adams of Philadelphia, Pa. He became manager of the Philadelphia *Aurora,* and was a staunch opponent of Federalism. Later he established a newspaper in Steubenville, Ohio, the *Western Herald,* and also founded the *Pennsylvania Advocate,* published at Pittsburgh, Pa., managing both papers.

The Rev. Thomas Woodrow, father of Janet Woodrow, was born in Paisley, Scotland, in 1793. He came of a very old Scottish family. He graduated from Glasgow University, and served as pastor of the Annetwell Street Congregational Church at Carlisle, England, from 1820 to 1835, when he emigrated to the United States. In the latter part of 1837 he was called to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church in Chillicothe, Ohio, where he remained for twelve years. He then became pastor at Columbus, Ohio, where he died April 27, 1877.

1858. Rev. Joseph R. Wilson moved to Augusta,

* Nearly all the addresses and papers referred to in this compilation may be found in the six-volume edition of "The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson," published by Harper & Brothers, New York, 1926. Where the complete texts do not appear, a bibliography, included as part of these six volumes, indicates many sources where they are recorded.

Ga., where the boyhood of Woodrow Wilson was spent much in his companionship. Dr. Wilson gradually developed his son's mind, making no attempt to force his education; it is said that he was over nine years old before he learned his letters, and eleven years old before he could read. From 1867 to 1870 he attended "Mr. Derry's Classical School," in Augusta, Ga.

1870. Autumn. Dr. Wilson moved to Columbia, S. C., and four years later to Wilmington, N. C. Woodrow Wilson was privately tutored in Latin and Greek by Mrs. Joseph R. Russell, and in 1873 entered Davidson College, N. C., and remained there the better part of a year.

1875. Autumn. Enters Princeton University; is elected one of the editors of the *Princetonian;* distinguishes himself as a debater; takes much interest in music and, possessing a good tenor voice, becomes a member of the College Glee Club.

1877. Writes first article, "Prince Bismarck," published in *Nassau Literary Magazine,* November, 1877.

1878. Writes prize essay, "William, Earl of Chatham," published in *Nassau Literary Magazine,* October, 1878.

1879. Writes article, "Cabinet Government in the United States," while senior at Princeton; published in *International Review,* August, 1879.

1879. June. Graduates from Princeton University with degree of A.B.

1879. October. Enters law school of the University of Virginia. Achieves reputation as a brilliant debater.

1880. Delivers an oration before Jefferson Society of the University of Virginia on John Bright; published in *University of Virginia Magazine,* March, 1880.

1880. Speaks on negative side of debate on query, "Is the Roman Catholic Element in the United States a Menace to American Institutions?" published in the *University of Virginia Magazine,* April, 1880.

1880. April. Contributes article, "Mr. Gladstone —a Character Sketch," to *University of Virginia Magazine,* signed "Atticus."

1880. December. Being in poor health, gives up his study of law at University of Virginia.

1881. Spends year at home regaining his health.

1882. Is admitted to bar and begins practice of law at Atlanta, Ga., in partnership with E. I. Renick.

1882. September 22. Gives testimony before the Tariff Commission, Atlanta session:

> "It is not my purpose to represent or advocate any particular interest, but only to say a few words upon the general issues before you on the subject of protection or free trade."

Published in Report of the Tariff Commission, Vol. 2, pp. 1294–7, 47th Cong., 2d Sess., Hs. Misc. Docmts., Vol. 3.

1882. Autumn. Abandons practice of law and renews his studies at Johns Hopkins University. During second year holds "Historical Fellowship."

1885. January 24. "Congressional Government," his first book, is published. This is an exhaustive study of the American as compared with the British system of government. From 1885 to 1924 twenty-nine impressions had been made of this book.

1885. June 24. Marries Ellen Louise Axson, of Savannah, Ga. Three children were born of this marriage and survive him: Margaret Wilson; Jessie Woodrow Wilson, (married Professor Francis B. Sayre); and Eleanor Randolph Wilson, (married Hon. William Gibbs McAdoo).

1885. September. Accepts chair of Associate Professor of History and Political Economy at Bryn Mawr College.

1886. Receives the degree of Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University, his book on "Congressional Government" being accepted as a thesis.

1888. Accepts the Chair of History and Political Economy at Wesleyan University.

1888. Lectures throughout New England. Continues his lectures at Johns Hopkins University.

1889. Publishes "The State; Elements of Historical and Practical Politics," of which a reprint has been made practically every year since publication.

1890. Accepts the chair of Jurisprudence and Politics at Princeton University. Holds this position until 1902, achieving great success and endearing himself to the students.

1893. Writes article, "Mr. Cleveland's Cabinet"; published in *Review of Reviews,* April, 1893.

1893. October 11. Publishes "An Old Master and Other Political Essays." (Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y.)

1896. October 21. Delivers an oration, "Princeton in the Nation's Service," on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the founding of the College of New Jersey, later to take the name of Princeton University.

1897. Publishes "George Washington"; an historical sketch, (Harper & Brothers, New York).

1901. Publishes "When a Man Comes to Himself"; an essay, (Harper & Brothers, New York).

1902. Publishes "A History of the American People"; written with no thought of publication, but better to learn its history for himself; 5 vols., Harper & Brothers, New York.

1902. August 1. Elected President of Princeton University.

1902. October 25. Inaugurated President of Princeton University, delivering a memorable address: "Princeton for the Nation's Service."

His career as President was most distinguished. He did not believe in the modern college methods, with their narrow scope and laxity. He insisted on the study of the classics and instituted a vigorous system of examinations, which at first reduced the number of students, but this did not last for long.

Averse to large classes, he introduced the Preceptorial System, assigning instructors and professors to limited groups of students for purposes of study and individual contact. This necessitated a large increase in the faculty and entailed large expenditure, but the result proved most successful. He also opposed the system of dining clubs in vogue as contrary to democratic principles.

He brought about many educational reforms and so raised the standards of education that when he resigned to accept the office of Governor of New Jersey, in 1910, Princeton University stood among the foremost educational institutions of the country.

1903. June 23. Publishes an article on "States' Rights" in "Cambridge Modern History."

1903. June 30. Delivers an address on "John Wesley's Place in History," at Middletown, Conn.

1903. December 4. Delivers an address on "Civic Patriotism" before the Passaic, N. J., Chamber of Commerce.

1904. October 13. Delivers an address, "The Young People and the Church," before the 40th Annual Convention of the Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Association, at Pittsburgh, Pa.

1904. November 29. Delivers an address on "The Political Future of the South" in New York.

1904. Publishes a statement on the Tutorial System in the *Princeton Alumni Weekly*.

1905. August 3. Publishes a statement on the Princeton preceptorial system in the *Independent*.

1906. Publishes notes on Constitutional Government.

1906. March 30. Delivers an address on "The Minister and the Community" at Hartford, Conn.

1906. April 16. Delivers address on "The Spirit of Jefferson" at Democratic Club, New York.

1906. December 14. Delivers address on Patriotism before the Southern Society, New York.

1907. March 17. Delivers address on Grover Cleveland on his 70th birthday.

1907. July 29. Writes to Mr. Andrew C. Imbrie on the Residential Quad System.

1907. November. Publishes an article on "Politics from 1857 to 1907" in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

1907. November 16. Delivers address on "Ideals of Public Life" before the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

1908. April 13. Addresses National Democratic Club, New York, on "Law and Personal Power."

1908. May. The *North American Review* publishes "The States and the Federal Government."

1908. September 30. Delivers an address on "The Banker and the Nation" at the annual convention of the American Bankers' Association at Denver, Colo.

1909. January 19. Delivers an address at the University of North Carolina on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Gen. Robert E. Lee.

1909. February 12. Delivers an address in Chi-

cago on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln.

1909. July 1. Delivers an oration, "The Spirit of Learning," before the Phi Beta Kappa Chapter at Cambridge, Mass.

1909. July 6. Delivers an address on "The Ideal University" at Princeton University.

1909. October. "The Tariff Make-Believe"; "The wrong settlement of a great public question is no settlement at all." Published by the *North American Review,* October, 1909.

1909. November. Publishes in *Scribner's Magazine* an article, "What is a College For?"

1909. November 2. Delivers an address before the McCormick Theological Seminary at Chicago, on "The Ministry and the Individual."

1909. November 18. Addresses the City Club, Philadelphia, on "Political Reform."

1910. March 18. Address, "Mr. Cleveland as President."

1910. April 9. Publishes in *Harper's Weekly* an article, "Living Principles of Democracy."

1910. April 16. Delivers an address before Princeton Alumni Association of Western Pennsylvania, at Pittsburgh, Pa.

1910. May. Publishes an article in the *North American Review,* "Hide and Seek Politics."

1910. May 6. Addresses the New Jersey Bankers Association at Atlantic City, N. J., on "Bankers and Statesmanship."

1910. June 12. Delivers Baccalaureate address, Princeton, N. J.

1910. August 31. Addresses American Bar Association of Chattanooga, Tenn., "The Lawyer and the Community."

1910. September 15. Nominated for Governor of New Jersey by the Democratic Party.

1910. October 23. Resigns as President of Princeton University.

1910. November. Elected Governor of New Jersey by a majority of 49,056.

He made a memorable campaign for the Governorship. His speeches were of the highest order and commanded wide attention throughout the country. The Assembly was Democratic while the Senate had a majority of three Republicans. The Legislature, in joint session, was Democratic.

1911. January 5. Delivers address in support of Mr. Martine for U. S. Senator of New Jersey.

1911. January 17. Delivers inaugural address as Governor of New Jersey.

In this address Gov. Wilson declared in favor of the regulation of corporations, an employer's liability law, a primary election law, a public utilities commission, ballot reform, equalization of taxes, and a corrupt practices act.

From the outset he took the position that he was the responsible leader of the Democratic Party. He broke the power of an undemocratic state machine. He brought about the election of James E. Martine as U. S. Senator in accordance with the primary vote.

He succeeded in having enacted into law a primary election law, a corrupt practices act, a public utilities, and many other important measures.

His administration was a memorable reform administration and he received the loyal support of the people of the State.

1911. May 5. Delivers address at the banquet of the Knife and Fork Club Kansas City, Mo., "Issues of Freedom."

1911. May 7. Delivers address at Denver, Colo., at the tercentenary celebration of the translation of the Bible into the English language, "The Bible and Progress."

1911. June 15. Delivers address at rally of Democratic Clubs at Harrisburg, Pa., "Democracy's Opportunity."

1911. July 12. Delivers address before Kentucky Bar Association at Lexington, Ky., "The Lawyer in Politics."

1911. December 6. Delivers address at Carnegie Hall, New York, "The Rights of the Jews."

1911. December 26. Letter to Prof. R. H. Dabney of the University of Virginia, "The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall."

1912. January 3. Delivers address before the National Democratic Club, New York, on "The Tariff."

1912. January 8. Delivers address at Jackson Day dinner, Washington, D. C.

1912. January 9. First annual message to Legislature of New Jersey.

1912. January 27. Delivers address before the Boston Real Estate Exchange on "Efficiency."

1912. February 1. Delivers address before General Assembly of Virginia and the City Council of Richmond, Va.

1912. February 12. Delivers address before Iroquois Club, Chicago, on Lincoln's birthday.

1912. February 24. Delivers address at Nashville, Tenn., on "The Tariff and the Trusts."

1912. February 26. Message to Legislature of New Jersey.

1912. April 2. Sixteen veto messages sent to Senate of New Jersey.

1912. April 13. Delivers address at Jefferson Day banquet, New York, "What Jefferson Would Do."

1912. May 23. Delivers address before Economic Club, New York, "Government in Relation to Business."

1912. July 2. Nominated for President of the United States by the National Democratic Convention, Baltimore, Md., on the forty-sixth ballot.

1912. August 7. Accepts nomination for President of the United States by the National Democratic Party in speech delivered at Sea Girt, N. J.

1912. September 2. Makes Labor Day speech, Buffalo, N. Y.

1912. November 4. Elected President of the United States, receiving 435 electoral votes as against 88 for Roosevelt and 8 for Taft.

Of the popular vote he received 6,286,214 votes as against 4,126,020 for Roosevelt and 3,483,922 for Taft.

1913. January. "The New Freedom" (a compilation by William B. Hale of Mr. Wilson's campaign speeches) is published, of which 18 impressions have appeared.

1913. March 1. Resigns as Governor of New Jersey.

1913. March 4. Inaugurated President of the United States. Delivers address:—"This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication." (See text in full, Appendix, B.)

1913. March 11. Issues a public statement giving his reasons for declining to recognize the Government of Huerta in Mexico, and stating that he will not recognize any Government which owes its origin to the physical force or intrigue of politicians at the head of revolutionary armies.

This policy was bitterly attacked, but it is interesting to note that ten years later—on February 7, 1923—Secretary Hughes arranged a treaty between five Central American countries, in which the policy laid down by President Wilson was adopted and amplified.

1913. April 8. Calls Congress in extraordinary session and (returning to practice of Presidents Washington and Adams) appears in person and delivers at a joint session of the two Houses an address calling for immediate revision of the tariff. (See address in full Appendix B.)

1913. May 26. Makes a public attack upon the tariff lobby: "Only public opinion can check and destroy it."

1913. June 23. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress, urging currency legislation: "It is absolutely imperative that we should give the business men of this country a banking and currency system by means of which they can make use of the freedom, of enterprise, and of individual initiative which we are about to bestow upon them." Six months to the day after this address was delivered (December 23, 1913) the measure came into being as the Federal Reserve Act.

1913. July 4. Delivers address upon the battlefield at Gettysburg, Pa.: "The day of our country's life has but broadened into morning. Do not put uniforms by. Put the harness of the present on. Lift your eyes to the great tracts of life yet to be conquered in the interest of righteous peace, of that prosperity which lies in a people's heart and outlasts all wars and errors of men."

1913. August 27. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress on "Mexican Affairs": "What is it our duty to do? Clearly, everything

that we do must be rooted in patience and done with calm and disinterested deliberation. Impatience on our part would be childish, and would be fraught with every risk of wrong and folly. We can afford to exercise the self-restraint of a really great nation which realizes its own strength and scorns to misuse it.

"It was our duty to offer our active assistance. It is now our duty to show what true neutrality will do to enable the people of Mexico to set their affairs in order again and wait for a further opportunity to offer our friendly counsels. * * * We cannot in the circumstances be the partisans of either party to the contest that now distracts Mexico, or constitute ourselves the virtual umpire between them. * * * The steady pressure of moral force will before many days break the barriers of pride and prejudice down, and we shall triumph as Mexico's friends sooner than we could triumph as her enemies—and how much more handsomely, with how much higher and finer satisfactions of conscience and of honor."

1913. October 3. Signs the Democratic Tariff Bill (urged in his address of April 8, 1913) which placed upon the free list wool, leather, boots and shoes, coal, lumber, eggs, milk, cream, wheat, iron ore, pig iron, steel, rails, and many other articles. The duties on many manufactured products were also greatly reduced and *ad valorem* duties were largely substituted for specific duties.

1913. October 25. Delivers address at Swarthmore College, Pa.: "What a man ought never to forget with regard to a college is that it is a nursery of principle and of honor. * * * Do not forget, then, as you walk these classic places, why you are here. You are not here merely to prepare to make a living. You are here in order to enable the world to live more

amply, with greater vision, with a finer spirit of hope and achievement. You are here to enrich the world, and you impoverish yourself if you forget the errand.

"It seems to me that there is no great difference between the ideals of the college and the ideals of the State. Can you not translate the one into the other? Men have not had to come to college, let me remind you, to quaff the fountains of this inspiration. You are merely more privileged than they. Men out of every walk of life, men without advantages of any kind, have seen the vision, and you, with it written large upon every page of your studies, are the more blind if you do not see it when it is pointed out. You could not be forgiven for overlooking it. They might have been. But they did not await instruction. They simply drew the breath of life into their lungs, felt the aspirations that must come to every human soul, looked out upon their brothers, and felt their pulses beat as their fellows' beat, and then sought by counsel and action to move forward to common ends that would be crowned with honor and achievement. This is the only glory of America. Let every generation of Swarthmore men and women add to the strength of that lineage and the glory of that crown of life."

1913. October 25. Delivers address at the celebration of the restoration and rededication of Congress Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.: "The very smallness of this room, the very simplicity of it all, all the suggestions which come from its restoration, are reassuring things —things which it becomes a man to realize. Therefore my theme here to-day, my only thought, is a very simple one. Do not let us go back to the annals of those sessions of Congress to find out what to do, because we live in another age and the circumstances are absolutely different; but let us be men of that kind; let

us feel at every turn the compulsions of principle and of honor which they felt; let us free our vision from temporary circumstances and look abroad at the horizon and take into our lungs the great air of freedom which has blown through this country and stolen across the seas and blessed people everywhere; and, looking east and west and north and south, let us remind ourselves that we are the custodians, in some degree, of the principles which have made men free and governments just."

1913. October 27. Delivers address before the Southern Commercial Congress at Mobile, Ala.: "I do not need to speak of the South. She has, perhaps, acquired the gift of speaking for herself. I come because I want to speak of our present and prospective relations with our neighbors to the south. I deem it a public duty, as well as a personal pleasure, to be here to express for myself and for the Government I represent the welcome we all feel to those who represent the Latin-American States. * * * There is one peculiarity about the history of the Latin-American States which I am sure they are keenly aware of. You hear of 'concessions' to foreign capitalists in Latin-America. You do not hear of concessions to foreign capitalists in the United States. They are not granted concessions. * * * I rejoice in nothing so much as in the prospect that they [the Latin-American States] will now be emancipated from these conditions; and we ought to be the first to take part in assisting in that emancipation. * * * We must prove ourselves their friends and champions upon terms of equality and honor. * * * Human rights, national integrity, and opportunity as against material interests—that, ladies and gentlemen, is the issue which we now have to face.

I want to take this occasion to say that the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest."

1913. December 2. Delivers first annual address at joint session of the two Houses of Congress: "There is but one cloud upon our horizon. That has shown itself to the south of us, and hangs over Mexico. There can be no certain prospect of peace in America until Gen. Huerta has surrendered his usurped authority in Mexico; until it is understood on all hands, indeed, that such pretended governments will not be countenanced or dealt with by the Government of the United States. * * * We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting. * * *

"You already have under consideration a bill for the reform of our system of banking and currency. * * * I present to you, in addition, the urgent necessity that special provision be made also for facilitating the credits needed by the farmers of the country. The pending currency bill does the farmers a great service; * * * and upon its passage they will find themselves quit of many of the difficulties which now hamper them in the field of credit.

" * * * I think it will be easily agreed that we should let the Sherman antitrust law stand, unaltered, as it is, with its debatable ground about it, but that we should as much as possible reduce the area of that debatable ground by further and more explicit legislation; and should also supplement that great act by legislation which will not only clarify it but also facilitate its administration and make it fairer to all concerned. * * *

"I turn to a subject which I hope can be handled promptly and without serious controversy of any kind. I mean the method of selecting nominees for the Presidency of the United States. I feel confident that I do

not misinterpret the wishes or the expectations of the country when I urge the prompt enactment of legislation which will provide for primary elections throughout the country at which the voters of the several parties may choose their nominees for the Presidency without the intervention of nominating conventions. * * * We can satisfy the obligations of generous justice toward the people of Porto Rico by giving them the ample and familiar rights and privileges accorded our own citizens in our own territories and our obligations toward the people of Hawaii by perfecting the provisions for self-government already granted them, but in the Philippines we must go further. We must hold steadily in view their ultimate independence, and we must move toward the time of that independence as steadily as the way can be cleared and the foundations thoughtfully and permanently laid. * * * Step by step we should extend and perfect the system of self-government in the islands, making test of them and modifying them as experience discloses their successes and their failures.

" * * * The people of Alaska should be given the full Territorial form of government, and Alaska, as a storehouse, should be unlocked. One key to it is a system of railways. These the Government should itself build and administer. * * * We must use the resources of the country [Alaska], not lock them up. * * *

"Our Bureau of Mines ought to be equipped and empowered to render even more effectual service than it renders now. * * *

"We owe it, in mere justice to the railway employees of the country, to provide for them a fair and effective employers' liability act; and a law that we can stand by

in this matter will be no less to the advantage of those who administer the railroads of the country than to the advantage of those whom they employ."

1913. December 23. Signs the Federal Reserve Act. This act creates the Federal Reserve System and provides for twelve Federal Reserve banks under the general control and supervision of the Federal Reserve Board at Washington. The reserves of the national banks and such State banks as join the system are deposited in the Federal Reserve banks, which banks are authorized to make loans to the member banks when their loaning power becomes, or threatens to become, exhausted through deficient reserves. The act also provides for the issue of Federal Reserve notes payable by the Federal Reserve banks, and by the Government, and issued against the deposit of eligible commercial paper, or gold, pledged with the Federal Reserve Agent. This system adequately protects the country from any future money stringency or panics such as arose in 1893 and 1907. It is the soundest banking system in the world, and under it we were enabled not only to carry on the World War for ourselves, but as well to sustain the credit of our Allies in this struggle.

1914. January 20. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress on trusts and monopolies: "In my report 'on the state of the Union,' which I had the privilege of reading to you on the 2nd of December last, I ventured to reserve for discussion at a later date the subject of additional legislation regarding the very difficult and intricate matter of trusts and monopolies. The time now seems opportune to turn to that great question * * * because opinion seems to be clearing about us with singular rapidity in this other great field of action. * * *

"We are all agreed that 'private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable,' and our program is founded upon that conviction. It will be a comprehensive but not a radical or unacceptable program, and these are its items, the changes which opinion deliberately sanctions and for which business waits:

" * * * For laws which will effectually prohibit and prevent such interlockings of the *personnel* of the directorates of great corporations—banks and railroads, industrial, commercial, and public service bodies —as in effect result in making those who borrow and those who lend practically one and the same, those who sell and those who buy but the same persons trading with one another under different names and in different combinations, and those who affect to compete in fact partners and masters of some whole field of business.

" * * * In the second place * * * the country is ready to accept with relief as well as approval a law which will confer upon the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to superintend and regulate the financial operations by which the railroads are henceforth to be supplied with the money they need for their proper development. * * *

"The business of the country awaits also * * * further and more explicit legislative definition of the policy and meaning of the existing antitrust law. * * *

"Other questions remain which will need very thoughtful and practical treatment. * * * We are agreed, I take it, that holding *companies* should be prohibited, but what of the controlling private ownership of individuals or actually coöperative groups of individuals? * * *

"There is another matter in which imperative considerations of justice and fair play suggest thoughtful remedial action. Not only do many of the combina-

tions effected * * * work an injustice upon the public in general; they also directly and seriously injure the individuals who are put out of business in one unfair way or another by the many dislodging and exterminating forces of combination. I hope that we shall agree in giving private individuals who claim to have been injured by these processes the right to found their suits for redress upon the facts and judgments proved and entered in suits by the Government. * * *

"Until these things are done, conscientious business men the country over will be unsatisfied."

1914. March 5. Urges upon Congress the repeal of that part of the Act of August 24, 1912, which gave to American coastwise ships exemption from Panama Canal tolls, in order strictly to comply with the treaty with Great Britain of November 18, 1901. (See address in full Appendix B.)

1914. March 20. Delivers address before the National Press Club, Washington, D. C.

1914. April 7. Signs treaty with Columbia providing compensation for loss of Canal Zone. Not ratified by Senate.

1914. April 20. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress calling "attention to a situation which has arisen in our dealings with General Victoriana Huerta at Mexico City which calls for action."

" * * * On the 9th of April a paymaster of the U. S. S. *Dolphin* landed at the Iturbide Bridge landing at Tampico with a whaleboat and boat's crew to take off certain supplies needed by his ship, and while engaged in loading the boat was arrested by an officer and squad of men of the army of General Huerta. Neither the paymaster nor any one of the boat's crew was armed. Two of the men were in the boat when the

arrest took place and were obliged to leave it and submit to be taken into custody, notwithstanding the fact that the boat carried, both at her bow and at her stern, the flag of the United States. * * *

"Within an hour and a half from the time of the arrest orders were received from the commander of the Huertista forces at Tampico for the release of the paymaster and his men. The release was followed by apologies. * * * Admiral Mayo regarded the arrest as so serious an affront that he was not satisfied with the apologies offered, but demanded that the flag of the United States be saluted with special ceremony by the military commander of the port. * * * Such a salute General Huerta has refused, and I have come to ask your approval and support in the course I now purpose to pursue. * * * I, therefore, come to ask your approval that I should use the armed forces of the United States in such ways and to such an extent as may be necessary to obtain from General Huerta and his adherents the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States. * * *

"There can in what we do be no thought of aggression or of selfish aggrandizement. We seek to maintain the dignity and authority of the United States only because we wish always to keep our great influence unimpaired for the uses of liberty, both in the United States and wherever else it may be employed for the benefit of mankind."

1914. April 22. Orders seizure of the Customs House at Vera Cruz by United States Naval forces.

1914. May 11. Delivers address at the Navy Yard, Brooklyn, N. Y., at services in memory of those who lost their lives at Vera Cruz, Mexico: " * * * We have gone down to Mexico to serve mankind if we can find out the way. We do not want to fight the

Mexicans. We want to serve the Mexicans if we can. * * * A war of aggression is not a war in which it is a proud thing to die, but war of service is a thing in which it is a proud thing to die."

1914. May 16. Delivers address in Washington, D. C., at the unveiling of statue to the memory of Commodore John Barry, U. S. N.

1914. May 30. Delivers address at the Grand Army of the Republic Memorial Day services, Arlington (Va.) National Cemetery.

1914. June 4. Delivers address accepting the monument in memory of the Confederate dead at Arlington (Va.) National Cemetery, presented by the Daughters of the Confederacy. (See address in full, Appendix B.)

1914. June 5. Delivers address to the Graduating Class of the U. S. Naval Academy, at Annapolis, Md.:

" * * *The idea of America is to serve humanity, and every time you let the Stars and Stripes free to the wind you ought to realize that is in itself a message that you are on an errand which other navies have sometimes forgotten; not an errand of conquest, but an errand of service."

1914. June 15. Delivers Flag Day address at Washington, D. C.:

"I esteem it a privilege to be present on an occasion like this and to try and interpret for you the significance of this beautiful flag that floats before us. . . . First of all, as everybody knows, this flag stood for independence. It stood for the right of a people with a life and ideals of its own to choose and establish their own policy, to govern their own affairs, and to choose their own rulers, without let or interference from any other peoples of the world. * * *

"This flag for the future is meant to stand for the

just use of undisputed national power. No nation is ever going to doubt our power to assert its rights; and we should lay it to heart that no nation shall ever henceforth doubt our purpose to put it to the highest uses to which a great emblem of justice and government can be put. It is henceforth to stand for self-possession, for dignity, for the assertion of the right of one nation to serve the other nations of the world—an emblem that will not condescend to be used for purposes of aggression and self-aggrandizement; that is too great to be debased by selfishness; that has vindicated its right to be honored by all the nations of the world and feared by none who do righteousness. * * * So it seems to me that it is my privilege and right as the temporary representative of a great Nation that does what it pleases with its own affairs to say that we please to do justice and assert the rights of mankind wherever this flag is unfurled."

1914. July 4. Delivers address at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Penna., at celebration of the one hundred and thirty-eighth anniversary of the birth of the United States, "America as a World Power":

"My dream is that as the years go on and the world knows more and more of America it will also drink at these fountains of youth and renewal; that it also will turn to America for those moral inspirations which lie at the basis of all freedom; that the world will never fear America unless it feels that it is engaged in some enterprise which is inconsistent with the rights of humanity; and that America will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights and that her flag is the flag not only of America but of humanity. * * *

"America has lifted high the light which will shine

unto all generations and guide the feet of mankind to the goal of justice and liberty and peace."

1914. August 4. Breaking out of the World War. Issues a proclamation of neutrality.

1914. August 6. Death of Mrs. Wilson.

1914. August 19. Issues a proclamation to the citizens of the Republic, requesting their assistance in maintaining a state of neutrality during the World War. (See complete text in Appendix B.)

1914. September 4. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress urging "that an additional revenue of $100,000,000 be raised through internal taxes devised in your wisdom to meet the emergency * * * due in chief part not to the reductions recently made in the customs duties, but to the great decrease in importations * * * due to the extraordinary extent of the industrial area affected by the present war in Europe."

1914. September 8. Issues proclamation appointing a national day of prayer and supplication:

A PROCLAMATION

"Whereas great nations of the world have taken up arms against one another and war now draws millions of men into battle whom the counsel of statesmen has not been able to save from the terrible sacrifice;

"And whereas in this as in all things it is our privilege and duty to seek counsel and succor of Almighty God, humbling ourselves before Him, confessing our weakness and our lack of any wisdom equal to these things;

"And whereas it is the especial wish and longing of the people of the United States, in prayer and counsel and all friendliness, to serve the cause of peace;

"Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do designate Sunday, the fourth day of October next, a day of prayer and supplication and do request all God-fearing persons to repair on that day to their places of worship, there to unite their petitions to Almighty God that, overruling the counsel of men, setting straight the things they can not govern or alter, taking pity on the nations now in the throes of conflict, in His mercy and goodness, showing a way where men can see none, He vouchsafe His children healing peace again and restore once more that concord among men and nations without which there can be neither happiness nor true friendship nor any wholesome fruit of toil or thought in the world; praying also to this end that He forgive us our sins, our ignorance of His holy will, our willfulness and many errors, and lead us in the paths of obedience to places of vision and to thoughts and counsels that purge and make wise.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. (SEAL) "Done at the City of Washington this eighth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

"Woodrow Wilson."

The substance of this celebrated proclamation was embodied practically verbatim, excepting for the obviously necessary changes, in a prayer for use in time of war, by Canon De Vries of the National Cathedral, and authorized for such use by the Bishop of Washington.

1914. October 17. Addresses letter to Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, "expressing my warm admira-

tion for the fidelity and intelligence with which the program outlined in April and December of last year has been carried out, and my feeling that the people of the country have been served by the members of this Congress as they have seldom, if ever, been served before."

1914. October 20. Delivers address before the American Bar Association in Continental Hall, Washington, D. C.

1914. October 24. Delivers address at Y.M.C.A. celebration, Pittsburgh, Pa.

1914. December 8. Delivers address at second annual joint session of the two Houses of Congress:

"We have grossly erred in the way in which we have stunted and hindered the development of our merchant marine. * * * We have year after year debated, without end or conclusion, the best policy to pursue with regard to the use of the ores and forests and water powers of our national domain in the rich States of the West, when we should have acted; and they are still locked up. * * * The water power of our navigable streams outside the national domain also, even in the eastern States, where we have worked and planned for generations, is still not used as it might be, because we will and we won't; because the laws we have made do not intelligently balance encouragement against restraint. We withhold by regulation. I have come to ask you to remedy and correct these mistakes and omissions. * * *

"And there is another great piece of legislation which awaits and should receive the sanction of the Senate: I mean the bill which gives a larger measure of self-government to the people of the Philippines. * * *

"The great subject of rural credits still remains to be dealt with. * * *

"There is another matter of which I must make special mention; * * * it is the matter of making adequate provision for the survey and charting of our coasts. * * *

"Before I close may I say a few words upon two topics, much discussed out of doors, upon which it is highly important that our judgments should be clear, definite and steadfast?

"One of these is economy in government expenditures. The duty of economy is not debatable. It is manifest and imperative. * * *

"The other topic I shall take leave to mention goes deeper into the principles of our national life and policy. It is the subject of national defense. * * * We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms. * * * We should encourage such training and make it a means of discipline which our young men will learn to value. * * * It is right, too, that the National Guard of the United States should be developed and strengthened."

1915. January 8. Delivers a Jackson Day address at Indianapolis, Ind.:

" * * * I thank God that those who believe in America, who try to serve her people, are likely to be also what America herself from the first hoped and meant to be—the servant of mankind."

1915. January 28. Returns to the House of Representatives, without approval, H. R. 6060 (an act to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States):

"It is with unaffected regret that I find myself con-

strained by clear conviction to return this bill without my signature. * * * In two particulars of vital consequence this bill embodies a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country; * * * it seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men; and it excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied, without regard to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity. * * *

"Does this bill rest upon the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people? I doubt it. It is because I doubt it that I make bold to dissent from it. I am willing to abide by the verdict, but not until it has been rendered. Let the platforms of parties speak out upon this policy and the people pronounce their wish. The matter is too fundamental to be settled otherwise."

1915. January 29. Delivers address at Mid-Year Conference of the American Electric Railway Association, New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

1915. February 3. Delivers address before the United States Chamber of Commerce, New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

1915. February 10. Sends cablegram to Ambassador Gerard, Berlin:

"Please address a note immediately to the Imperial German Government to the following effect:

" * * * If the commanders of German vessels of war should act upon the presumption that the flag of the United States was not being used in good faith and should destroy on the high seas an American vessel or

the lives of American citizens, it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than as an indefensible violation of neutral rights which it would be very hard indeed to reconcile with the friendly relations now so happily subsisting between the two Governments.

"If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

1915. March 5. Sends communication to Ambassador Page in London pointing out the irregularities in the British and French blockades.

1915. April 19. Delivers address before D.A.R. Society, Washington, D. C.

1915. April 20. Delivers address to members of the Associated Press, New York City:

" * * * If I permitted myself to be a partisan in this present struggle, I would be unworthy to represent you. If I permitted myself to forget the people who are not partisans, I would be unworthy to be your spokesman. I am not sure that I am worthy to represent you, but I do claim this degree of worthiness—that before everything else I love America."

1915. May 10. Delivers address at Convention Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., before a gathering of about four thousand newly naturalized citizens:

" * * * The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight,

but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right."

1915. May 13. Sends first of a series of notes to Imperial German Government following the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915:

" * * * In view of recent acts of the German authorities in violation of American rights on the high seas which culminated in the torpedoing and sinking of the British steamship *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, by which over one hundred American citizens lost their lives, it is clearly wise and desirable that the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government should come to a clear and full understanding as to the grave situation which has resulted. * * * Expressions of regret and offers of reparation in case of the destruction of neutral ships sunk by mistake * * * can not justify or excuse a practice the natural and necessary effect of which is to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks.

"The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

1915. May 17. Delivers address at luncheon tendered to him by the Mayor's Committee of New York City (Hotel Biltmore).

1915. May 24. Delivers address at Pan-American Financial Conference, held in the Pan-American Building, Washington, D. C.

1915. May 31. Delivers address at the Grand Army of the Republic Memorial Day services, Arlington (Va.) National Cemetery.

1915. June 2. Issues statement to the press stating the policy the United States has adopted in regard to Mexico. (See text in full, Appendix B.)

1915. June 9. Sends second note to the Imperial German Government on subject of the sinking of the *Lusitania.*

1915. June 14. Delivers address at Flag Day exercises of the Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

1915. July 9. Calls for reports from the Secretary of War and Secretary of Navy on war preparedness.

1915. July 21. Sends third note to the Imperial German Government on subject of the sinking of the *Lusitania.*

1915. September 8. Notifies the Government of Austria to recall Ambassador Dumba because of unneutral and unfriendly actions in the United States.

1915. September 28. Delivers address at Camp Emery, Washington, D. C., at G. A. R. celebration of the semi-centennial of the Grand Parade of Union troops returning north in 1865.

1915. September 28. Delivers address in Old Census Building, Washington, D. C., before veterans of the G. A. R. in annual encampment.

1915. October 6. Delivers address before the Civilian Advisory Board of the Navy at the White House, Washington, D. C.

1915. October 7. Announcement made of the engagement of Woodrow Wilson to Edith Bolling, widow of Norman Galt.

1915. October 11. Delivers address before Society

of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Continental Hall, Washington, D. C.

1915. October 19. Recognizes the Government of Carranza in Mexico.

1915. October 19. Issues a proclamation prohibiting the exportation of arms or munitions of war to Mexico, making an exception in favor of the Carranza Government.

1915. October 21. Sends a letter to Ambassador Page in London denouncing as illegal the British blockade of neutral ports in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland against goods claimed to be destined ultimately for Germany.

1915. November 4. Delivers address at the fiftieth anniversary dinner of the Manhattan Club, Biltmore Hotel, New York City:

" * * * I shall assume that here around the dinner table on this memorable occasion our talk should properly turn to the wide and common interests which are most in our thoughts, whether they be the interests of the community or of the nation.

"A year and a half ago our thought would have been almost altogether of great domestic questions. They are many and of vital consequence * * * but our thought is now * * * chiefly of our relations with the rest of the world, * * * our duties as an individual and independent force in the world to ourselves, our neighbors and the world itself.

"Our principles are well known. It is not necessary to avow them again. We believe in political liberty and founded our great government to obtain it, the liberty of men and of peoples—of men to choose their own lives and of peoples to choose their own allegiance. Our ambition, also, all the world has knowledge of. It is not only to be free and prosperous

ourselves, but also to be the friend and thoughtful partisan of those who are free or who desire freedom the world over. If we have had aggressive purposes and covetous ambitions, they were the fruit of our thoughtless youth as a nation and we have put them aside. We shall, I confidently believe, never again take another foot of territory by conquest. We shall never in any circumstances seek to make an independent people subject to our dominion; because we believe, we passionately believe, in the right of every people to choose their own allegiance and be free of masters altogether.

"For ourselves we wish nothing but the full liberty of self-development; and with ourselves in this great matter we associate all the peoples of our own hemisphere.

" * * * In no man's mind, I am sure, is there even raised the question of the willful use of force on our part against any nation or any people. * * *

"But we feel justified in preparing ourselves to vindicate our right for independent and unmolested action by making the force that is in us ready for assertion. * * * It is with this idea, with this conception in mind that the plans have been made which it will be my privilege to lay before the Congress at its next session."

1915. December 4. Requests the German Government to withdraw Boy-Ed and Von Papen because of unneutral and unfriendly conduct in the United States.

1915. December 7. Delivers third annual address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress:

"Since I last had the privilege of addressing you on the state of the Union the war of nations on the other side of the sea, which had then only begun to disclose its portentous proportions, has extended its

threatening and sinister scope until it has swept within its flame some portion of every quarter of the globe, not excepting our own hemisphere; has altered the whole face of international affairs and now presents a prospect of reorganization and reconstruction such as statesmen and peoples have never been called upon to attempt before. We have stood apart, studiously neutral; * * * it was necessary, if a universal catastrophe was to be avoided, that a limit should be set to the sweep of destructive war and that some part of the great family of nations should keep the processes of peace alive. * * *

"There was a time in the early days of our own great nation and of the republics fighting their way to independence in Central and South America when the government of the United States looked upon itself as in some sort the guardian of the republics to the south of her as against any encroachments or efforts at political control from the other side of the water. * * * Our concern for the independence and prosperity of the states of Central and South America is not altered. We retain unabated the spirit that has inspired us throughout the whole life of our government and which was so frankly put into words by President Monroe * * *

"We have been put to the test in the case of Mexico, and we have stood the test. * * * We will aid and befriend Mexico, but we will not coerce her. * * * The moral is, that the States of America are not hostile rivals but coöperating friends. * * * Separated they are subject to all the cross currents of the confused politics of a world of hostile rivalries; united in spirit and purpose they cannot be disappointed of their peaceful destiny.

"This is Pan-Americanism. It has none of the

spirit of empire in it. It is the embodiment, the effectual embodiment, of the spirit of law and independence and liberty and mutual service. * * *

"If our citizens are ever to fight effectively upon a sudden summons, they must know how modern fighting is done, and what to do when the summons comes to render themselves immediately available and immediately effective. And the government must be their servant in this matter, must supply them with the training they need to take care of themselves and of it. The military arm of their government, which they will not allow to direct them, they may properly use to serve them and make their independence secure; * * * they must be fitted to play the great rôle in the world, and particularly in this hemisphere, which they are qualified by principle and by chastened ambition to play.

"It is with these ideals in mind that the plans of the Department of War for more adequate national defense were conceived which will be laid before you, and which I urge you to sanction and put into effect as soon as they can be properly scrutinized and discussed. They seem to me the essential first steps, and they seem to me for the present sufficient.

"They contemplate an increase of the standing force of the regular army from its present strength of 5,023 officers and 102,985 enlisted men of all services to a strength of 7,136 officers and 134,707 enlisted men. * * * These are the additions necessary to render the army adequate for its present duties. * * *

"By way of making the country ready to assert some part of its real power promptly and upon a larger scale, should occasion arise, the plan also contemplates supplementing the army by a force of 400,000 disciplined citizens, raised in increments of

133,000 a year throughout a period of three years. This it is proposed to do by a process of enlistment under which the serviceable men of the country would be asked to bind themselves to serve with the colors for purposes of training for short periods throughout three years, and to come to the colors at call at any time throughout an additional 'furlough' period of three years. * * *

"At least so much by way of preparation for defense seems to me to be absolutely imperative now. We cannot do less.

"The program which will be laid before you by the Secretary of the Navy is similarly conceived. * * *

"The task of building up an adequate merchant marine for America private capital must ultimately undertake and achieve; * * * and it seems to me a manifest dictate of wisdom that we should promptly remove every legal obstacle that may stand in the way of this much-to-be-desired revival of our old independence and should facilitate in every possible way the building, purchase and American registration of ships. * * *

"The plans for the armed forces of the nation which I have outlined, and for the general policy of adequate preparation for mobilization and defense, involve of course very large additional expenditures of money—expenditures which will considerably exceed the estimated revenues of the government. * * * The additional revenues required to carry out the program of military and naval preparation of which I have spoken, would, as at present estimated, be for the fiscal year 1917, $93,800,000. * * * It seems to me a clear dictate of prudent statesmanship and frank finance that in what we are now, I hope, about to undertake we should pay as we go. The people of the country are

entitled to know just what burdens of taxation they are to carry, and to know from the outset, now. The new bills should be paid by internal taxation. * * *

"I have spoken to you to-day, gentlemen, upon a single theme, the thorough preparation of the nation to care for its own security and to make sure of entire freedom to play the impartial rôle in this hemisphere and in the world which we all believe to have been providentially assigned to it. I have had in my mind no thought of any immediate or particular danger arising out of our relations with other nations. We are at peace with all the nations of the world, and there is reason to hope that no question in controversy between this and other governments will lead to any serious breach of amicable relations, grave as some differences of attitude and policy have been and may yet turn out to be. I am sorry to say that the gravest threats against our national peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders. There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life. * * * America never witnessed anything like this before. * * * A little while ago such a thing would have seemed incredible. * * * But the ugly and incredible thing has actually come about and we are without adequate federal laws to deal with it. I urge you to enact such laws at the earliest possible moment. * * * Such creatures of passion, disloyalty and anarchy must be crushed out. * * * It is possible to deal with these things very effectually. I need not suggest the terms in which they may be dealt with. * * *

"While we speak of the preparation of the nation

to make sure of her security and her effective power we must not fall into the patent error of supposing that her real strength comes from armaments and mere safeguards of written law. It comes, of course, from her people, their energy, their success in their undertakings, their free opportunity to use the natural resources of our great home land. * * * A matter which it seems to me we should have very much at heart is the creation of the right instrumentalities by which to mobilize our economic resources in any time of national necessity. * * * It is the more imperatively necessary, therefore, * * * that we should give intelligent federal aid and stimulation to industrial and vocational education, as we have long done in the large field of our agricultural industry; * * * that we should put into early operation some provision for rural credits which will add to the extensive borrowing facilities already afforded the farmer by the Reserve Bank Act, adequate instrumentalities by which long credits may be obtained on land mortgages. * * *

"The transportation problem is an exceedingly serious and pressing one in this country. There has from time to time of late been reason to fear that our railroads would not much longer be able to cope with it successfully, as at present equipped and coördinated. I suggest that it would be wise to provide for a commission of inquiry to ascertain by a thorough canvass of the whole question whether our laws as at present framed and administered are as serviceable as they might be in the solution of the problem. * * * It seems to me that it might be the part of wisdom, therefore, before further legislation in this field is attempted, to look at the whole problem of coördination and efficiency in the full light of a fresh assessment

of circumstance and opinion, as a guide to dealing with the several parts of it.

"For what we are seeking now, what in my mind is the single thought of this message, is national efficiency and security. We serve a great nation. We should serve it in the spirit of its peculiar genius. It is the genius of common men for self-government, industry, justice, liberty and peace. We should see to it that it lacks no instrument, no facility or vigor of law to make it sufficient to play its part with energy, safety and assured success. In this we are no partisans but heralds and prophets of a new age."

1915. December 10. Delivers address before the Federal Council of Churches, Columbus, Ohio.

1915. December 18. Marries Edith Bolling (widow of Norman Galt) of Wytheville, Va.

1916. January 6. Delivers address to Pan-American Scientific Congress, Washington, D. C.

1916. January 27. Delivers address at first annual banquet of the Motion Picture Board of Trade, Hotel Biltmore, New York City.

1916. January 27. Delivers address at Interdenominational Meeting held in Æolian Hall, New York City:

" * * * The peace of America depends upon the attitude of the different elements of race and thought of which she is made up toward one another.

"I have been deeply disturbed, gentlemen, I think every thoughtful American has been deeply disturbed, at the evidence afforded in recent days of the recrudescence of religious antagonisms in this country. That is a very dangerous thing which cuts at the very root of the American spirit. If men do not love one another they can not love peace. If men are intolerant of one another they will be intolerant of the processes

of peace, which are the processes of accommodation. 'Live and let live' is a very homely phrase, and yet it is the basis of social existence. * * *

"Peace does not mean inaction. There may be infinite activity; there may be almost violent activity in the midst of peace. Peace dwells, after all, in the character and in the heart, and that is where peace is rooted in this blessed country of ours. It is rooted in the hearts of the people. * * * We believe in peace, but we believe also in justice and righteousness and liberty, and peace cannot subsist without these. * * *

"We are all of one spiritual kith and kin, and a great family is building up here which I believe in my heart will set an example to the world of those things which elevate and purify and strengthen mankind."

1916. January 27 to February 3. Makes series of addresses on national defense, beginning with one at seventh annual dinner of the Railway Business Association in New York City, January 27th, and ending with one at St. Louis, Missouri, February 3d. As the points developed are very much the same in all these addresses, extensive quotations are only made from the first. This group of addresses was ordered printed as a public document by the House of Representatives February 3, 1916 (Document No. 803):

" * * * I consider it a privilege to be permitted to lay before you some of the things to which we ought to give our most careful and deliberate consideration.

"The question, it seems to me, which most demands clarification just now is the question * * * of preparation for national defense. I say that it stands in need of clarification because it has been deeply clouded by passion and prejudice. * * *

"In all the belligerent countries men without dis-

tinction of party have drawn together to accomplish a successful prosecution of the war. Is it not a more difficult and a more desirable thing that all Americans should put partisan prepossessions aside and draw together for the successful prosecution of peace? * * *

"Let no man dare to say, if he would speak the truth, that the question of preparation for national defense is a question of war or of peace. If there is one passion more deep-seated in the hearts of our fellow-countrymen than another, it is the passion for peace. * * * I have sought to maintain peace against very great and sometimes very unfair odds. I have had many a time to use every power that was in me to prevent such a catastrophe as war coming upon this country. It is not permissible for any man to say that anxiety for the defense of the nation has in it the least tinge of desire for a power that can be used to bring on war.

"But, gentlemen, there is something that the American people love better than they love peace. They love the principles upon which their political life is founded. They are ready at any time to fight for the vindication of their character and of their honor. * * * We cannot surrender our convictions. I would rather surrender territory than surrender those ideals which are the staff of life of the soul itself. * * *

"The minute I stop changing my mind with the change of all the circumstances of the world, I will be a back number. * * *

"I hear a great many things predicted about the end of the war, but I do not know what is going to happen at the end of the war; and neither do you. * * * I am one of those prudent individuals who would really like to know the facts before he forms an opinion; not out of wisdom but out of prudence.

I have lived long enough to know that if I do not, the facts will get away with me. * * *

"What I am trying to impress upon you now is that the circumstances of the world to-day are not what they were yesterday, or ever were in any of our yesterdays. And it is not certain what they will be to-morrow. I can not tell you what the international relations of this country will be to-morrow, and I use the word literally; and I would not dare keep silent and let the country suppose that to-morrow was certain to be as bright as to-day. America will never be the aggressor, America will always seek to the last point at which her honor is involved to avoid the things which disturb the peace of the world; but America does not control the circumstances of the world, and we must be sure that we are faithful servants of those things which we love, and are ready to defend them against every contingency that may affect or impair them. * * * It goes without saying * * * that one thing that this country never will endure is a system that is called militarism. * * *

"America is always going to use her army in two ways. She is going to use it for the purposes of peace, and she is going to use it as a nucleus for expansion into those things which she does believe in, namely, the preparation of her citizens to take care of themselves. * * *

"We ought to have in this country a great system of industrial and vocational education under federal guidance and with federal aid, in which a very large percentage of the youth of this country will be given training in the skillful use and application of the principles of science in manufacture and business; and it will be perfectly feasible and highly desirable to add to that and combine with it such a training in the

mechanism and care and use of arms, in the sanitation of camps, in the simpler forms of maneuver and organization, as will make these same men at one and the same time industrially efficient and immediately serviceable for national defense. * * *

"But, gentlemen, you can not create such a system overnight; * * * it has got to be built up, and I hope it will be built up, by slow and effective stages; and there is much to be done in the meantime. * * *

"I am not forgetting our National Guard; * * * I believe it is the duty of Congress to do very much more for the National Guard than it has ever done heretofore. I believe that that great arm of our national defense should be built up and encouraged to the utmost; but you know, gentlemen, that under the Constitution of the United States the National Guard is under the direction of more than twoscore States; that it is not permitted to the National Government directly to have a voice in its development and organization; and that only upon occasion of actual invasion has the President of the United States the right to ask those men to leave their respective States. * * *

"What we need is a body of men trained in association with units of the army, a body of men organized under the immediate direction of the national authority, a body of men subject to the immediate call to arms of the national authority, and yet men not put in the ranks of the Regular Army; men left to their tasks of civil life, men supplied with equipment and training, but not drawn away from the peaceful pursuits which have made America great and must keep her great. I am not a partisan of any one plan. * * * What I am after, and what every American ought to insist upon, is a body of at least half a million trained

citizens who will serve under conditions of danger as an immediately available national reserve."

1916. January 29. Delivers address in Soldiers' Memorial Hall, Pittsburgh, Pa.:

"You know that there is a multitude of voices upon the question of national defense. * * * Some of the things that are being said proceed from sentiment, and I would be the last to detract from genuine sentiment. I feel myself moved by some of the sentiments, with the conclusions of which I cannot agree, just as much as the gentlemen are moved themselves who utter them. I believe in peace, I love peace. I would not be a true American if I did not love peace. But I know that peace costs something, and that the only way in which you can maintain peace is by thoroughly enjoying the respect of everybody with whom you deal. While, therefore, I can subscribe to every desire which those fine people have who are counseling us against assuming arms in this country, I must ask them to think a second time about the circumstances under which we are living.

"There are other counselors the source of whose counsel is passion, and with them I can not agree. It is not wise, it is not possible, to guide national policy under the impulse of passion. * * * America does not desire anything that any other nation can give it except friendship and justice and right conduct, and I am sorry for my part to see any passion, whether of fear or of dislike, stir the counsels of America. * * * I have tried for my own part to hold off from every passion. I know it is not easy. When the world is running red with blood it is hard to keep the judgment cool. * * *

"What is it that we want to defend? You do not need to have me answer that question for you; it is

your own thought. We want to defend the life of this nation against any sort of interference. We want to maintain the equal right of this nation as against the action of all other nations, and we wish to maintain the peace and unity of the Western Hemisphere. * * * Do you never stop to reflect just what it is that America stands for? If she stands for one thing more than another it is for the sovereignty of self-governing peoples, and her example, her assistance, her encouragement, have thrilled two continents in this Western World with all the fine impulses which have built up human liberty on both sides of the water. * * *

"So it seems to me that the thing that we are in love with in America is efficiency.

" * * * We want the spirit of America to be efficient. We want American character to be efficient. We want American character to display itself in what I may perhaps be allowed to call spiritual efficiency—clear, disinterested thinking and fearless action along the right lines of thought. * * * Therefore, I for my part have a great enthusiasm for rendering America spiritually efficient, and that conception lies at the basis of what seems very far removed from it, namely, the plans that have been proposed for the military efficiency of this nation.

"Those plans do not involve a great army, because that is not America's way of being efficient in respect of her physical force. * * * I believe in one plan; others may think that an equally good plan can be substituted, and I hope my mind is open to be convinced that it can; but what I am convinced of and what we are all working for is that there should be provided, not a great militant force in this country, but a great reserve of adequate and available force

which can be called on upon occasion. I have proposed that we should be supplied with at least half a million men accustomed to handle arms and to live in camps; and that is a very small number as compared with the gigantic proportions of modern armies. * * *

"I want you to realize just what is happening, not in America but in the rest of the world. * * * The world is on fire, and there is tinder everywhere. The sparks are liable to drop anywhere, and somewhere there may be material which we can not prevent from bursting into flame. The influence of passion is everywhere abroad in the world. It is not strange that men see red in such circumstances. What a year ago was incredible has now happened and the world is so in the throes of this titanic struggle that no part of it is unaffected. * * *

"It fills me with a very strange feeling sometimes, my fellow-citizens, when it seems to be implied that I am not the friend of peace. If these gentlemen could have sat with me reading the dispatches and handling the questions which arise every hour of the twenty-four, they would have known how infinitely difficult it had been to maintain the peace and they would have believed that I was the friend of peace. * * *

"It amazes me to hear men speak as if America stood alone in the world and could follow her own life as she pleased. * * * I should feel that I was guilty of an unpardonable omission if I did not go out and tell my fellow-countrymen that new circumstances have arisen which make it absolutely necessary that this country should prepare herself; not for war, not for anything that smacks in the least of aggression, but for adequate national defense. * * *

"The most necessary thing to do now is to make

America acquainted with her own situation in the world and acquainted with the fact that not all the processes of conduct are within her own control; that, on the contrary, they are daily and hourly affected by things which she can not govern or direct. Appeals of this sort are apt to be only too adequate. I am not afraid that America will do nothing. I am only desirous that she should be very coolly considerate of what she does. One cool judgment is worth a thousand hasty counsels. The thing to do is to supply light and not heat. There ought, if there is any heat at all, to be that warmth of the heart which makes every man thrust aside his own personal feelings, his own personal interests, and take thought of the welfare and benefit of others. * * *

"America was born into the world to do mankind service, and no man is a true American in whom the desire to do mankind service does not take precedence over the desire to serve himself. If I believed that the might of America was a threat to any free man in the world, I would wish America to be weak; but I believe the might of America is the might of righteous purpose and of a sincere love for the freedom of all mankind. * * *

"America can not afford to be weak, and she can not afford to use her strength for anything which does not honor the Stars and Stripes. What I want you to do is this: I do not want you merely to listen to speeches. I want you to make yourselves vocal. I want you to let everybody who comes within earshot of it know that you are a partisan for the adequate preparation of the United States for national defense. * * * I want you to go home determined that within the whole circle of your influence the President, not as a partisan, but as the representative of the national honor, shall

be backed up by the whole force that is in the nation."

1916. January 29. Delivers address to overflow meeting in Soldiers' Memorial Hall, Pittsburgh, Pa.:

"The thing that is hard is to fight for the things that do not immediately touch us in order that others may live whom we do not love and do not even know, in order that the great tides of the national life might flow free and unobstructed, in order that the great ideals and purposes and longings of the people we never see might be realized. That is the life of a nation. * * *

"I do not believe that the women of this country are interested in national defense merely in order that they may be physically protected. If that were all we cared for, there would not be any spirit of America. The flag would not stand for anything if it were merely a roof over my head or a bulwark against an attack upon me. The flag stands for something for which we are all trustees, the great part that America is to play in the world.

"And what is the part that America is to play in the world? America stands, first of all, for the right of men to determine whom they will obey and whom they will serve; for the right of political freedom and a people's sovereignty; and anybody who interferes with those conceptions by touching the affairs of America makes it necessary that America should assert her rights. * * *

"In ordinary circumstances it has not been necessary for America to think of force. * * * Nobody doubts that, given time enough, we can assert any amount of force that may be necessary; but when the world is on fire how much time can you afford to take to be ready? When you know that there are combustible materials in the life of the world and in your own national life,

and that the sky is full of floating sparks from a great conflagration, are you going to sit down and say it will be time when the fire begins to do something about it? I do not believe that the fire is going to begin but I would be surer of it if we were ready for the fire. And I want to come to you as your responsible servant and tell you this, that we do not control the fire. We are under the influences of it, but we are not at the sources of it. We are where it at any time may affect us; and yet we can not govern its spread and progress. If it once touches us, it may touch the very sources of our life. * * * I am not come here to tell you of any immediate threat of a definite danger, because by very great patience, by making our position perfectly clear, and then steadfastly maintaining the same attitude throughout great controversies, we have so far held difficulty at arm's length; but I want you to realize the task you have imposed upon your government. * * *

"I want every man and woman of you to stand behind me in pressing a reasonable plan for national defense."

1916. January 29. Delivers address at Cleveland, Ohio:

"What are the elements of the case? In the first place, and most obviously, two-thirds of the world are at war. It is not merely a European struggle; nations in the Orient have become involved, as well as nations in the west, and everywhere there seems to be creeping even upon the nations disengaged the spirit and the threat of war. All the world outside of America is on fire. * * *

"This is a struggle which will determine the history of the world, I dare say, for more than a century to come. The world will never be the same again after

this war is over. The change may be for weal or it may be for woe, but it will be fundamental and tremendous. * * *

"America is not afraid of anybody. I know that I express your feeling and the feeling of all our fellow-citizens when I say that the only thing I am afraid of is not being ready to perform my duty. I am afraid of the danger of shame; I am afraid of the danger of inadequacy; I am afraid of the danger of not being able to express the great character of this country with tremendous might and effectiveness whenever we are called upon to act in the field of the world's affairs.

"For it is character we are going to express, not power merely. The United States is not in love with the aggressive use of power. It despises the aggressive use of power. * * * If there is one thing that the American people love and believe in more than another it is peace and all the handsome things that belong to peace. I hope that you will bear me out in saying that I have proved that I am a partisan of peace. I would be ashamed to be belligerent and impatient when the fortunes of my whole country and the happiness of all my fellow-countrymen were involved. But I know that peace is not always within the choice of the nation, and I want to remind you, and remind you very solemnly, of the double obligation you have laid upon me. I know you have laid it upon me because I am constantly reminded of it in conversation, by letter, in editorial, by means of every voice that comes to me out of the body of the nation. You have laid upon me this double obligation: 'We are relying upon you, Mr. President, to keep us out of this war, but we are relying upon you, Mr. President, to keep the honor of the nation unstained.' "

1916. January 31. Delivers address at Auditorium, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin:

"I have come to confer with you upon a matter upon which it would, in any circumstances, be necessary for us to confer when all the rest of the world is on fire and our own house is not fireproof. * * *

"I feel that I am charged with a double duty of the utmost difficulty. In the first place, I know that you are depending upon me to keep this nation out of the war. So far I have done so, and I pledge you my word that, God helping me, I will if it is possible. But you have laid another duty upon me. You have bidden me see to it that nothing stains or impairs the honor of the United States, and that is a matter not within my control; that depends upon what others do, not upon what the Government of the United States does. Therefore, there may at any moment come a time when I can not preserve both the honor and the peace of the United States. Do not exact of me an impossible and contradictory thing, but stand ready and insistent that everybody who represents you should stand ready to provide the necessary means for maintaining the honor of the United States.

" * * * As I came along the line of the railway to-day, I was touched to observe that everywhere, upon every railway station, upon every house, where a flag could be procured, some temporary standard had been raised from which there floated the Stars and Stripes. They seemed to have divined the errand upon which I had come to remind you that we must subordinate every individual interest and every local interest to assert once more, if it should be necessary to assert them, the great principles for which that flag stands.

"Do not deceive yourselves, ladies and gentlemen,

as to where the colors of that flag came from. Those lines of red are lines of blood, nobly and unselfishly shed by men who loved the liberty of their fellow-men more than they loved their own lives and fortunes. God forbid that we should have to use the blood of America to freshen the color of that flag; but if it should ever be necessary again to assert the majesty and integrity of those ancient and honorable principles, that flag will be colored once more, and in being colored will be glorified and purified."

1916. January 31. Delivers address at Auditorium, Chicago, Illinois:

"A year ago it did seem as if America might rest secure without very great anxiety, and take it for granted that she would not be drawn into this terrible maelstrom, but those first six months were merely the beginning of the struggle. Another year has been added, and now no man can confidently say whether the United States will be drawn into the struggle or not. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that we should take counsel together as to what it is necessary that we should do.

"The destiny of America is an ideal destiny. America has no reason for being, unless her destiny and duty be ideal. It is her incumbent privilege to declare and stand for the rights of men. Nothing less is worth fighting for. Nothing less is worth sacrificing for. * * *

"It is not a happy circumstance to have these moments of national necessity arise, and yet I for my part am not sorry that this necessity has arisen. It has awakened me, myself, I frankly confess to you, to many things and many conditions which a year ago I did not realize. I did not realize then that the things were possible which have since become actual facts.

I am glad that I know better than I knew then exactly the sort of world we are living in. I would be ashamed of my intelligence if I did not understand the significance of indubitable facts. And it may be that large bodies of our fellow-citizens were resting in a false security, based upon an imaginary correspondence of all the world with the conceptions under which they were themselves conducting their own lives. It is probably a fortunate circumstance, therefore, that America has been cried awake by these voices in the disturbed and reddened night, when fire sweeps sullenly from continent to continent, and it may be that in this red flame of light there will arise again that ideal figure of America holding up her hand of hope and of guidance to the people of the world and saying: 'I stand ready to counsel and to help; I stand ready to assert whenever the flame is quenched those infinite principles of rectitude and peace which alone can bring happiness and liberty to mankind.' "

1916. February 1. Delivers address at Des Moines, Iowa:

" * * * The gentlemen who are out-and-out pacifists are making one fundamental mistake. That is not a mistake about the sentiments of America, but a mistake about the circumstances of the world. America does not constitute the world. In many of her sentiments and predilections she does not represent or influence the world. * * *

"What is America expected to do? She is expected to do nothing less than keep law alive while the rest of the world burns. You know that there is no international tribune, my fellow-citizens. I pray God that if this contest have no other result, it will at least have the result of creating an international tribune and

producing some sort of joint guarantee of peace on the part of the great nations of the world. * * *

"It was a very thrilling thing to me as I came into this hall to see the multitude of American flags that waved above the heads of this audience. * * * And as I look at that flag I seem to see many characters upon it which are not visible to the physical eye. There seem to move there ghostly visions of devoted men who, looking to that flag, thought only of liberty, of the rights of mankind, of the mission of America to show the way to the world for the realization of the rights of mankind; and every grave of every brave man of the country would seem to have upon it the colors of the flag, if he was a true American; would seem to have on it that stain of red which means the true pulse of blood, and that beauty of pure white which means the peace of the soul. And then there seems to rise over the graves of these men and to hallow their memories that blue space of the sky in which stars swim, those stars which exemplify for us that glorious galaxy of the States of the Union, bodies of free men banded together to vindicate the rights of mankind."

1916. February 2. Delivers address at Topeka, Kansas:

" * * * America knows that the only thing that sustains the Monroe Doctrine and all the inferences that flow from it is her own moral and physical force. The Monroe Doctrine is not part of international law. The Monroe Doctrine has never been formally accepted by any international agreement. The Monroe Doctrine merely rests upon the statement of the United States that if certain things happen she will do certain things. So, nothing sustains the honor of the United States in respect of these long-cherished and

long-admired promises except her own moral and physical force. * * *

"The final test of the validity, the strength, the irresistible force of the American ideal has come. The rest of the world must be made to realize from this time out just what America stands for, and when that happy time comes when peace shall reign again and America shall take part in the undisturbed and unclouded counsels of the world, it will be realized that the promises of the fathers, the ambitions of the men who fought for the bloody soil of Kansas, the ideals of the men who thought nothing of their lives in comparison with their ideals, will have been vindicated and the world will say: 'America promised to hold this light of liberty and right up for the guidance of our feet, and behold she has redeemed her promise. Her men, her leaders, her rank and file are pure of heart; they have purged their hearts of selfish ambition and they have said to all mankind: "Men and brethren, let us live together in righteousness and in the peace which springeth only from the soil of righteousness itself." ' "

1916. February 2. Delivers address in Convention Hall at Kansas City, Mo.:

" * * * I am going away from here reassured beyond even the hope that I entertained when I came here; and yet I want to beg of you that you do not let the impressions of this hour die with the hour. Let every man and woman in this place go out of here with the feeling that he must concentrate his influence from this moment until the thing is accomplished upon making certain the security and adequacy of national defense. Because, if America suffer, all the world loses its equipoise. Madness has entered into everything, and that serene flag which we have thrown to

the breeze upon so many occasions as the beckoning finger of hope to those who believe in the rights of mankind will itself be stained with the blood of battle, and staggering here and there among its foes will lead men to wonder where the star of America has gone and why America has allowed herself to be embroiled when she might have carried that standard serenely forward to the redemption of the affairs of mankind. I beg of you to stand by your government with your minds as well as your hearts, and let us redeem America by applying our judgments to the wholesome process of national defense."

1916. February 3. Delivers address at Coliseum, St. Louis, Mo.:

" * * * You have either got to make the men of this nation in sufficient number ready to defend the nation against initial disaster, or you have got to take the risk of initial disaster. Think of the cruelty, think of the stupidity of putting raw levies of inexperienced men into the modern field of battle! We are not asking for armies; we are asking for a trained citizenship which will act in the spirit of citizenship and not in the spirit of military establishments. * * *

"Have you ever let your imagination dwell upon the enormous stretch of coast from the Canal to Alaska,—from the Canal to the northern corner of Maine? There is no other navy in the world that has to cover so great an area of defense as the American Navy, and it ought, in my judgment, to be incomparably the most adequate navy in the world. * * *

" * * * The strength of America is in that part of it which is not vocal. The voice of America is a very still but a very powerful voice. My constant endeavor in Washington is to hear that voice. I have often said

that it seemed to me a very fortunate circumstance that all the living rooms of the White House are on the side from which, if you look out of the windows, you can not see the city of Washington. You see instead the broad spaces of Virginia across the river, and your imagination has free flight from those free spaces to those great stretches of country where the quiet people on the farms and the busy people in the factories and the absorbed men in the offices are realizing and living the life of America; and from out those great national areas the people seem to send in at those southern windows of the Executive Mansion their message of reassurance. That is where I listen for the still voice of America, and I believe that that voice has brought to me in unmistaken accents the resolution of this country to do whatever it is adequate and necessary to do in order that no man might question the honor or invade the integrity or disregard the rights of the United States of America."

1916. February 3. Delivers address at Jefferson Hotel, St. Louis, Mo., to Business Men's League:

" * * * Not only is it necessary that we should prepare, gentlemen, to mobilize the forces of the nation if necessary for the defense of the country,—if it should, unhappily, become necessary to use them for that purpose,—but it is also necessary to mobilize the economic forces of this country better than they have ever been mobilized before for the service of the world after this great war is over. * * *

"I believe that the message which all men such as sit in this room to-day ought to carry in their hearts is the message of preparation for peace. Unhappily, you have to tread another way to approach that preparation. Unhappily, the conditions of peace are not established by us but established by the rest of the

world. We do not have to defend ourselves against ourselves; we may have to defend ourselves against the invasion of those processes of passion which are now shaking the whole round globe with their disturbance. We must be ready to see that America shall remain untouched, because America is too valuable to the world now to allow herself to be touched by this disturbance. * * *

"I have come out to appeal to America, not because I doubted what America felt, but because I thought America wanted the satisfaction of uttering what she felt and of letting the whole world know that she was a unit in respect of every question of national dignity and national safety."

1916. February 22. Presents memorandum to Lord Grey to the effect that he is willing to propose a conference of all the litigants for the purpose of ending the war; that if the Allies agree and Germany refuses, the United States will probably go into the war on the side of the Allies. The terms suggested in this memorandum are, among others: the restoration of Belgium; the recession of Alsace-Lorraine to France, and a water port for Russia. The British War Committee decided not to take this matter up and Lord Grey referred it to M. Briand without recommending it.

1916. February 24. Writes to Senator Stone notifying Congressional leaders of his opposition to the Gore and McLemore resolutions which warned American citizens that if they embarked on armed merchant vessels of the combatant powers they did so at their own risk, stating that he will not consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect:

"But in any event our duty is clear. No nation, no group of nations, has the right while war is in progress, to alter or disregard the principles which all nations

have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war; and if the clear rights of American citizens should ever unhappily be abridged or denied by any such action, we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be.

"For my own part I cannot consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the nation is involved. We covet peace, and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them, would be a deep humiliation indeed."

1916. February 26. Delivers address at the annual dinner of the Gridiron Club, held in the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

"Your talk, Mr. Toastmaster, has been a great deal about candidacy for the Presidency. It is not a new feeling on my part, but one which I entertain with a greater intensity than formerly, that a man who seeks the Presidency of the United States for anything that it will bring to him is an audacious fool. The responsibilities of the office ought to sober a man even before he approaches it. * * *

"America ought to keep out of this war. She ought to keep out of this war at the sacrifice of everything except this single thing upon which her character and history are founded, her sense of humanity and justice. If she sacrifices that, she has ceased to be America; she has ceased to entertain and to love the traditions which have made us proud to be Americans. * * *

"Valor is self-respecting. Valor is circumspect. Valor strikes only when it is right to strike. Valor withholds itself from all small implications and entanglements and waits for the great opportunity when the

sword will flash as if it carried the light of Heaven upon its blade."

1916. March 3. The Gore resolution tabled in the Senate by a vote of 68 to 14.

1916. March 7. The McLemore resolution tabled in the House of Representatives by a vote of 276 to 142.

1916. March 15. Sends General Pershing with six thousand troops into Mexico in pursuit of Villa.

1916. March 25. Issues statement to the press as to effects of rumor on Mexican policy:

"As has already been announced, the expedition into Mexico was ordered under an agreement with the *de facto* Government of Mexico for the single purpose of taking the bandit Villa, whose forces had actually invaded the territory of the United States, and is in no sense intended as an invasion of that republic or as an infringement of its sovereignty."

1916. April 13. Delivers address at Jefferson Day Banquet, New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

"These are days that search men's hearts. These are days that discredit selfish speech; these are days that ought to quiet ill-considered counsel. These are solemn days, when all the moral standards of mankind are to be fully tried out. And the responsibility is with us—with us Democrats—because the power for the time being is ours to say whether America under our leadership shall hold these eternal balances even or shall let some malign influence depress one balance and lift the other, till we shall look around and say: 'Who stands for the old visions of liberty and whose eyes are still open to those spiritual images conceived at our birth?'"

1916. April 19. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress:

" * * * It will be recalled that in February, 1915, the Imperial German Government announced its intention to treat the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war and to destroy all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within any part of that portion of the high seas, and that it warned all vessels, of neutral as well as belligerent ownership, to keep out of the waters it had thus proscribed or else enter them at their peril.

"Notwithstanding the earnest protest of our government, the Imperial German Government at once proceeded to carry out the policy it had announced.

" * * * Again and again the Imperial German Government has given this Government its solemn assurances that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has again and again permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity. Great liners like the *Lusitania* and the *Arabic* and mere ferryboats like the *Sussex* have been attacked without a moment's warning, sometimes before they had even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed vessel of the enemy, and the lives of non-combatants, passengers and crew, have been sacrificed wholesale, in a manner which the Government of the United States cannot but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. * * *

"The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy in which its own citizens were involved it has sought to be restrained from any extreme course of action. * * * It has been willing to wait until the significance of the facts became absolutely unmistakable and susceptible of but one interpretation.

"That point has now unhappily been reached. The facts are susceptible of but one interpretation. The Imperial German Government has been unable to put any limits or restraints upon its warfare against either freight or passenger ships. It has therefore become painfully evident that the position which this Government took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, that the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of non-combatants.

"I have deemed it my duty, therefore, to say to the Imperial German Government that if it is still its purpose to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, * * * the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue; and that unless the Imperial German Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels this Government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether."

1916. May 4. The Imperial German Government informs the United States that she has ordered submarine commanders to act only in accordance with the principles of visit and search, and vessels will not be sunk without first securing the lives of the occupants unless they attempt to escape or offer resistance. The Imperial German Government also states that she expects confidently the United States will demand and

insist that the British Government observe the rules of international law.

1916. May 8. The United States accepts the assurance of the Imperial German Government, as indicated in communication of May 4, 1916, but informs the Imperial German Government that she considers this acceptance not contingent upon any course of diplomatic negotiations of the United States with any other belligerent government.

1916. May 15. Delivers address to the National Press Club, Washington, D. C.

1916. May 20. Delivers address at Charlotte, N. C., at celebration of the anniversary of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

1916. May 27. Delivers address at the first annual assemblage of the League to Enforce Peace, Washington, D. C.:

" * * * Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at last in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established. It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honor that we demand of individuals. * * *

"If this war has accomplished nothing else for the benefit of the world, it has at least disclosed a great moral necessity and set forward the thinking of the statesmen of the world by a whole age. Repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this, that the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over

the individual interests of particular nations, and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind. * * *

"In the dealings of nations with one another arbitrary force must be rejected and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere. That thought constitutes a chief part of the passionate conviction of America.

"We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. * * * Second, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon. And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of people and nations.

"So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation. * * *

"If it should ever be our privilege to suggest or initiate a movement for peace among the nations now at war, I am sure that the people of the United States

would wish their Government to move along these lines:

"First, such a settlement with regard to their own immediate interests as the belligerents may agree upon. We have nothing material of any kind to ask for ourselves, and are quite aware that we are in no sense or degree parties to the present quarrel. Our interest is only in peace and its future guarantees. Second, a universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world—a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence. * * *

"God grant that the dawn of that day of frank dealing and of settled peace, concord and coöperation may be near at hand."

1916. May 30. Delivers address at Grand Army of the Republic Memorial Day services at Arlington (Va.) National Cemetery.

1916. June 2. Delivers address before the Graduating Class of the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.

1916. June 13. Delivers address before the Graduating Class of the United States Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.

1916. June 14. Delivers address at Flag Day exercises, Washington, D. C.

1916. June 16. Renominated for President of the United States by the National Democratic Convention, St. Louis, Mo.

1916. June 29. Delivers address before the Associated Advertising Clubs, Philadelphia, Pa.

1916. June 30. Delivers address before the Press Club in New York City:

" * * * So, gentlemen, I have not come here tonight to do anything but to remind you that you do not constitute the United States; that I do not constitute the United States; that it is something bigger and greater and finer than any of us; that it was born in an ideal, and only by pursuing an ideal in the face of every adverse circumstance will it continue to deserve the beloved name which we love and for which we are ready to die, the name 'America.' "

1916. July 4. Delivers address at dedication of the Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C.

1916. July 10. Delivers address before the Salesmanship Congress, Detroit, Michigan:

" * * * This, then, my friends, is the simple message that I bring you. Lift your eyes to the horizons of business; do not look too close at the little processes with which you are concerned, but let your thoughts and your imaginations run abroad throughout the whole world, and with the inspiration of the thought that you are Americans and are meant to carry liberty and justice and the principles of humanity wherever you go, go out and sell goods that will make the world more comfortable and more happy and convert them to the principles of America."

1916. July 10. Delivers address at Toledo, Ohio.

1916. July 13. Delivers address before Citizenship Convention, Wilson Normal School Building, Washington, D. C.

1916. July 17. Signs the Federal Farm Loan Act which enables farmers to secure long-time loans at very low rates of interest.

1916. July 20. Delivers address at the Postmasters' Banquet, Hotel Raleigh, Washington, D. C.:

" * * * The simple thing I have come to say to you to-night, gentlemen, is this: Let us band ourselves together to prove to the people of the United States that we understand what they want and are readier to do it than anybody else that they can find."

1916. August 29. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress on threatened railroad strike:

"I have come to you to seek your assistance in dealing with a very grave situation which has arisen out of the demand of the employees of the railroads engaged in freight train service that they be granted an eight-hour working day, safeguarded by payment for an hour and a half of service for every hour of work beyond the eight. * * *

"It seemed to me, in considering the subject-matter of the controversy, that the whole spirit of the time and the preponderant evidence of recent economic experience spoke for the eight-hour day. * * * I therefore proposed that the eight-hour day be adopted by the railway managements and put into practice for the present as a substitute for the existing ten-hour basis of pay and service; that I should appoint, with the permission of the Congress, a small commission to observe the results of the change, carefully studying the figures of the altered operating costs, not only, but also the conditions of labor under which the men worked and the operation of their existing agreements with the railroads, with instructions to report the facts as they found them to the Congress at the earliest possible day, but without recommendation; and that, after the facts had been thus disclosed, an adjustment should in some orderly manner be sought of all the matters now left unadjusted between the railroad managers and the men. * * *

"The representatives of the brotherhoods accepted the plan; but the representatives of the railroads declined to accept it. * * * While my conferences with them were in progress and when to all outward appearance those conferences had come to a standstill, the representatives of the brotherhoods suddenly acted and set the strike for the 4th of September.

"The railway managers based their decision to reject my counsel in this matter upon their conviction that they must at any cost to themselves or to the country stand firm for the principle of arbitration which the men had rejected. I based my counsel upon the indisputable fact that there was no means of obtaining arbitration. * * *

"Having failed to bring the parties to this critical controversy to an accommodation, therefore, I turn to you, deeming it clearly your duty as public servants to leave nothing undone that we can do to safeguard the life and interests of the nation. In the spirit of such a purpose, I earnestly recommend the following legislation:

[Recommendations were for enlargement and administrative reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission; establishment of an eight-hour day; appointment by President of small body of men to observe results of adoption of eight-hour day; explicit approval by Congress of consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of an increase of freight rates to meet such additional expenditures by the railroads as may have been rendered necessary by adoption of eight-hour day; amendment of existing federal statute which provides for the mediation, conciliation and arbitration of such controversies by adding to it a provision that in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail, a full

public investigation of the merits of every dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may be lawfully adopted; the lodgment in the hands of the Executive of the power, in case of military necessity, to take control of such portions and such rolling stock of the railways as may be required for military use and to operate them for military purposes, with authority to draft into the military service of the United States such train crews and administrative officials as the circumstances require for their safe and efficient use.]

"These things I urge upon you, not in haste or merely as a means of meeting a present emergency, but as permanent and necessary additions to the law of the land, suggested, indeed, by circumstances we had hoped never to see, but imperative as well as just, if such emergencies are to be prevented in the future."

1916. September 2. Delivers address at Shadow Lawn, N. J., accepting renomination for President of the United States. (See address in full, Appendix B.)

1916. September 3. Signs the Adamson railway wage law, containing only two of the recommendations made in address to Congress of August 29, 1916, *i.e.*, the eight-hour day and the authorization of a commission to study the matter and report to Congress.

1916. September 4. Delivers address at Hodgenville, Ky., on the occasion of the acceptance by the War Department of a deed of gift to the Nation by the Lincoln Farm Association of the Lincoln birthplace farm.

1916. September 7. Signs bill creating the United States Shipping Board, with authority to buy and construct vessels for naval and merchant marine purposes.

1916. September 8. Delivers address at Women's Suffrage Convention, Atlantic City, N. J.

1916. September 23. Delivers address at Shadow Lawn, N. J., opening campaign.

1916. September 25. Delivers address before the Grain Dealers' Association, Baltimore, Md.

1916. October 5. Delivers two addresses at Omaha, Nebraska.

1916. October 12. Delivers address at Indianapolis, Ind.

1916. October 21. Delivers address to three thousand farmers at Shadow Lawn, N. J.

1916. October 26. Delivers address at Cincinnati, Ohio:

" * * * Have you ever heard what started the present war? If you have, I wish you would publish it, because nobody else has, so far as I can gather. Nothing in particular started it, but everything in general. There had been growing up in Europe a mutual suspicion, an interchange of conjecture about what this government and that government was going to do, an interlacing of alliances and understandings, a complex web of intrigue and spying, that presently was sure to entangle the whole of the family of mankind on that side of the water in its meshes.

"Now revive that after this war is over and sooner or later you will have just such another war, and this is the last war of the kind or of any other kind that involves the world that the United States can keep out of.

"I say that because I believe that the business of neutrality is over; not because I want it to be over, but I mean this, that war now has such a scale that the position of neutrals sooner or later becomes intolerable. * * *

"We must have a society of nations, not suddenly, not by insistence, not by any hostile emphasis upon

the demand, but by the demonstration of the needs of the time. The nations of the world must get together and say, 'Nobody can hereafter be neutral as respects the disturbances of the world's peace for an object which the world's opinion can not sanction.' "

1916. October 30. Issues public denial of Senator Lodge's charge that a postscript or amendment of the *Lusitania* note was ever written or contemplated by him "except such changes as I myself inserted which strengthened and emphasized the protest."

1916. November 4. Delivers final speech of campaign at Shadow Lawn, N. J.

1916. November 7. Reëlected President of the United States, receiving 277 electoral votes as against 254 for Hughes.

Wilson received over nine million votes, his plurality over Hughes being over 500,000; his total vote exceeded that of 1912 by nearly three million. He was the first candidate since 1868 to be elected President without the electoral vote of the State of New York. No President, on reëlection, ever made such a tremendous gain.

1916. November 14. Delivers address to the National Grange, Washington, D. C.

1916. December 5. Delivers fourth annual address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress:

" * * * In the first place, it seems to me imperatively necessary that the earliest possible consideration and action should be accorded the remaining measures of the program of settlement and regulation which I had occasion to recommend to you at the close of your last session in view of the public dangers disclosed by the unaccommodated difficulties which then existed, and which still unhappily continue to exist, between

the railroads of the country and their locomotive engineers, conductors and trainmen. * * *

"The necessity for such legislation is manifest and pressing. * * *

"Three matters of capital importance await the action of the Senate which have already been acted upon by the House of Representatives: the bill which seeks to extend greater freedom of combination to those engaged in promoting the foreign commerce of the country than is now thought by some to be legal under the terms of the laws against monopoly; the bill amending the present organic law of Porto Rico; and the bill proposing a more thorough and systematic regulation of the expenditure of money in elections, commonly called the Corrupt Practices Act.

"I need not offer my advice that these measures be enacted into law. Their urgency lies in the manifest circumstances which render their adoption at this time not only opportune but necessary. Even delay would seriously jeopardize the interests of the country and of the Government."

1916. December 18. Sends a communication to each of the belligerent powers (with copies to all neutral governments for their information):

"The President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them. * * *

"The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the

neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world."

1917. January 22. Delivers address before the Senate of the United States outlining the essential terms of peace in Europe:

"On the 18th of December last I addressed an identical note to the governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy. The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace. The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely and have stated in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement. * * *

"I have sought this opportunity to address you * * * to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in the days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations. It is inconceivable that the people of the United

States should play no part in that great enterprise. * * *

"The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all. * * *

"They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. * * *

"The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

"So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. * * * With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

"And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality and coöperation. * * *

"The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

"I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve, * * * because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. * * * I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out con-

cerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear. * * *

"I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

"I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

"I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

"These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail."

1917. January 29. Sends to House of Representa-

tives second veto of an immigration restriction bill (H.R. 10384):

"In most of the provisions of the bill I should be very glad to concur, but I cannot rid myself of the conviction that the literacy test constitutes a radical change in the policy of the Nation which is not justified in principle." (The bill was passed over the veto.)

1917. January 31. Germany gives notice that submarine activity will be resumed on February 1st.

1917. February 3. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress:

"The Imperial Government on the 31st of January announced to this Government and to the governments of other neutral nations that on and after the first day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

"Let me remind the Congress that on the 18th of April last * * * this Government addressed a note to the Imperial German Government in which it made the following declaration: 'Unless the Imperial German Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.'

"In reply to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance: 'The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a prin-

ciple upon which the German Government believes, now as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States. The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning, and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.' * * *

"I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this (January 31, 1917) declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of the fourth of May, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the 18th of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

"I have, therefore, directed the Secretary of State to announce to His Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will immediately be withdrawn; and in accordance with this decision, to hand to His Excellency his passports.

"Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, * * * I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact

what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

"If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded; if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress, to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course.

"We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people which I sought to express in my address to

the Senate only two weeks ago,—seek merely to vindicate our rights to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany."

1917. February 26. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress requesting authority to supply merchant ships with defensive arms:

" * * * On the third of February I officially informed you of the sudden and unexpected action of the Imperial German Government in declaring its intention to disregard the promises it had made to this Government in April last and undertake immediate submarine operations against all commerce, whether of belligerents or of neutrals. * * * That policy was forthwith put into practice. * * * Its practical results are not yet fully disclosed. * * * In sum, therefore, the situation we find ourselves in with regard to the actual conduct of the German submarine warfare against commerce and its effects upon our own ships and people is substantially the same that it was when I addressed you on the third of February. * * * We can only say, therefore, that the overt act which I have ventured to hope the German commanders would in fact avoid has not occurred.

"But, while this is happily true, it must be admitted that there have been certain additional indications and expressions of purpose on the part of the German press and the German authorities which have increased rather than lessened the impression that, if our ships and our people are spared, it will be because of fortunate circumstances or because the commanders of the German submarines which they may happen to encounter exercise an unexpected discretion and restraint

rather than because of the instructions under which those commanders are acting. It would be foolish to deny that the situation is fraught with the gravest possibilities and dangers. * * *

"No one doubts what it is our duty to do. We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances, with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose. Only the method and the extent remain to be chosen, upon the occasion, if occasion should indeed arise, * * *

"It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed force anywhere into action. * * * I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace to follow the pursuits of peace in quietness and good will,—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world. No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the willful acts and aggressions of others.

"You will understand why I can make no definite proposals or forecasts of action now and must ask for your supporting authority in the most general terms. * * * I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms, should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas. I request also that you will grant me at the same time, along with the powers I ask, a sufficient credit to enable me to provide adequate

means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate insurance against the present war risks."

1917. March 4. Issues statement to the country:

"The termination of the last session of the 64th Congress by constitutional limitation disclosed a situation unparalleled in the history of the country, perhaps unparalleled in the history of any modern Government. In the immediate presence of a crisis fraught with more subtle and far-reaching possibilities of national danger than any other the Government has known within the whole history of its international relations, the Congress has been unable to act either to safeguard the country or to vindicate the elementary rights of its citizens. More than 500 of the 531 members of the two houses were ready and anxious to act; the House of Representatives had acted, by an overwhelming majority; but the Senate was unable to act because a little group of eleven Senators had determined that it should not.

"The Senate has no rules by which debate can be limited or brought to an end, no rules by which dilatory tactics of any kind can be prevented. A single member can stand in the way of action, if he have but the physical endurance. The result in this case is a complete paralysis alike of the legislative and of the executive branches of the Government. * * *

"The Congress is more definitely united in thought and purpose at this moment, I venture to say, than it has been within the memory of any man now in its membership. There is not only the most united patriotic purpose, but the objects members have in view are perfectly clear and definite. But the Senate cannot act unless its leaders can obtain unanimous consent. Its majority is powerless, helpless. In the midst of a crisis of extraordinary peril, when only definite and

decided action can make the nation safe, or shield it from war itself by the aggression of others, action is impossible.

" * * * A little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible.

"The remedy? There is but one remedy. The only remedy is that the rules of the Senate shall be so altered that it can act. The country can be relied upon to draw the moral. I believe that the Senate can be relied on to supply the means of action and save the country from disaster."

1917. March 5. Inaugurated President of the United States for a second term.

[As the 4th of March came on Sunday, the oath of office as President of the United States was administered on that date by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in chambers at the United States Capitol, and again at the public ceremonies, on the plaza in front of the Capitol, March 5, 1917.]

Delivers second inaugural address to crowd assembled on Capitol plaza:

[See address in full, Appendix B.]

Calls Congress in extraordinary session to meet April 2, 1917.

1917. April 2. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress:

" * * * The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken. * * * With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which

it involves, * * * I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States." [See address in full, Appendix B.]

1917. April 4. United States Senate adopts war resolution by vote of 82 to 6.

1917. April 6. United States House of Representatives adopts war resolution by vote of 373 to 50, and on that day President Wilson signed the proclamation "that a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government."

1917. April 16. Issues address:

"My fellow-countrymen: The entrance of our own beloved country into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights which has shaken the world creates so many problems of national life and action which call for immediate consideration and settlement that I hope you will permit me to address to you a few words of earnest counsel and appeal with regard to them." [See address in full, Appendix B.]

1917. May 12. Delivers address at dedication of Red Cross Building, Washington, D. C.

1917. May 18. Signs Selective Draft Act and issues statement accompanying proclamation thereunder.

1917. May 18. Announces that he "has directed an expeditionary force of approximately one division of regular troops under command of Major General John J. Pershing to proceed to France at as early a date as practicable."

1917. May 19. Issues statement outlining Food Control Program.

1917. May 30. Delivers address at Memorial Day exercises of the Grand Army of the Republic at Arlington (Va.) National Cemetery.

1917. June 5. Delivers address at Confederate Veterans reunion, Washington, D. C.

1917. June 8. Sends message to the Russian Government:

"In view of the approaching visit of the American delegation to Russia to express the deep friendship of the American people for the people of Russia and to discuss the best and most practical means of coöperation between the two peoples in carrying the present struggle for the freedom of all peoples to a successful consummation, it seems opportune and appropriate that I should state again in the light of this new partnership the objects the United States has had in mind in entering the war. * * *

"The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force. * * *

"We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. * * * No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done. No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and future welfare and happiness of its peoples.

"And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and

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practical coöperation, that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another. * * *

"For these things we can afford to pour out blood and treasure. The day has come to conquer or submit."

1917. June 14. Delivers address at Flag Day exercises, Washington, D. C.:

" * * * The military masters under whom Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point fate has brought them. * * * If they succeed, they are safe, and Germany and the world are undone; if they fail, Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed, America will fall within the menace. We and all the rest of the world must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression; if they fail, the world may unite for peace, and Germany may be of the union. * * *

"For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution, when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new luster. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people."

1917. July 9. Issues statement accompanying embargo proclamation prohibiting the export of various commodities except under regulations or licenses.

1917. August 11. Delivers address to officers of the Atlantic fleet:

"I have not come here with malice prepense to

make a speech, but I have come here to have a look at you and to say some things that perhaps may be intimately said and, even though the company is large, said in confidence. Of course, the whole circumstance of the modern time is extraordinary and I feel that just because the circumstances are extraordinary there is an opportunity to see to it that the action is extraordinary. * * *

"Now, the point that is constantly in my mind, gentlemen, is this: this is an unprecedented war, and therefore it is a war in one sense for amateurs. Nobody ever before conducted a war like this and therefore nobody can pretend to be a professional in a war like this. Here are two great navies, not to speak of the others associated with us, our own and the British, outnumbering by a very great margin the navy to which we are opposed, and yet casting about for a way in which to use our superiority and our strength, because of the novelty of the instruments used, because of the unprecedented character of the war, because, as I said just now, nobody ever before fought a war like this, in the way that this is being fought at sea—or on land either for that matter. The experienced soldier, —experienced in previous wars,—is a back number so far as his experience is concerned, and not so far as his intelligence is concerned. His experience does not count, because he never fought a war as this is being fought, and therefore he is an amateur along with the rest of us. Now, somebody has got to think this war out. Somebody has got to think out the way not only to fight the submarine, but to do something different from what we are doing. * * *

"I have come here to say that I do not care where it comes from, I do not care whether it comes from the youngest officer or the oldest, but I want the officers

of this navy to have the distinction of saying how this war is going to be won. The Secretary of the Navy and I have just been talking over plans for putting the planning machinery of the navy at the disposal of the brains of the navy and not stopping to ask what rank that brains has, because, as I have said before and want to repeat, so far as experience in this kind of war is concerned we are all of the same rank. I am not saying that I do not expect the Admirals to tell us what to do, but I am saying that I want the youngest and most modest youngster in the service to tell us what we ought to do if he knows what it is. I am willing to make any sacrifice for that. I mean any sacrifice of time or anything else. I am ready to put myself at the disposal of any officer in the navy who thinks he knows how to run this war. I will not undertake to tell you whether he does or not, because I know I cannot, but I will undertake to put him in communication with those who can find out whether his idea will work or not. I have the authority to do that and I will do it with the greatest pleasure. The idea that is in my mind all the time is that we are comrades in this thing.

"I cannot say it too often to any audience, we are fighting a thing, not a people. The most extraordinary circumstance of modern history is the way in which the German people have been subordinated to the German system of authority and how they have accepted their thinking from authority as well as their action from authority. Now, we do not intend to let that method of action and of thinking be imposed upon the rest of the world. Knowing, as some of us do, the fine quality of the German people, we are sorry that it was ever imposed upon them and we are anxious to see that they have their glad emancipation, but we intend

to see to it that no other people suffers a like limitation and subordination. We went into this war because this system touched us. These people that stopped at nothing, paid no attention to our rights, destroyed the lives of our people, invaded the dignity of our sovereignty, tried to make interest against us in the minds of our own people, and the thing was intolerable. We had to strike, but thank God we were striking not only for ourselves, but for everybody else that loves liberty under God's heaven, and therefore we are in some peculiar sense the trustees of liberty.

"I wish I could think and had the brains to think in the terms of marine warfare, because I would feel then that I was figuring out the future history of the political freedom of mankind. I do not see how any man can look at the flag of the United States and fail having his mind crowded with reminiscences of the number of unselfish men, seeking no object of their own, the advantage of no dynasty, the advantage of no group of privileged people, but the advantage of his fellow-men, who have died under the folds of that beautiful emblem. I wonder if men who do die under it realize the distinction they have. There is no comparison between dying in your bed in quiet times for nothing in particular and dying under that emblem of the might and destiny and pride of a great free people. There is distinction in the privilege and I for my part am sorry to play so peaceful a part in the business as I myself am obliged to play, and I conceive it a privilege to come and look at you men who have the other thing to do and ask you to come and tell me or tell anybody you want to tell how this thing can be better done; and we will thank God that we have got men of originative brains among us. * * *

"America has always boasted that she could find

men to do anything. She is the prize amateur nation of the world. Germany is the prize professional nation of the world. Now, when it comes to doing new things and doing them well, I will back the amateur against the professional every time, because the professional does it out of the book and the amateur does it with his eyes open upon a new world and with a new set of circumstances. He knows so little about it that he is fool enough to try the right thing. * * * I think that there are willing ears to hear this in the American Navy and the American Army because that is the kind of folks we are. We get tired of the old ways and covet the new ones.

"So, gentlemen, besides coming down here to give you my personal greeting and to say how absolutely I rely on you and believe in you, I have come down here to say also that I depend on you, depend on you for brains as well as training and courage and discipline. You are doing your job admirably, the job that you have been taught to do; now let us do something that we were never taught to do and do it just as well as we are doing the older and more habitual things; and do not let anybody ever put one thought of discouragement into your minds. * * * I am not discouraged for a moment, particularly because we have not even begun and, without saying anything in disparagement of those with whom we are associated in the war, I do expect things to begin when we begin. If they do not, American history will have changed its course; the American Army and Navy will have changed their character. There will have to come a new tradition into a service which does not do new and audacious and successful things.

"I am very much obliged to you for having given me this opportunity to see you and I hope you will also

give me the pleasure of shaking hands with each one of you. If you ever want me again for anything in particular—because I am a busy man and cannot come for anything that is not particular—send for me and I will come."

1917. August. Issues letter to the soldiers and sailors of the United States: "The Bible is the word of life." [See text in full, Appendix B.]

1917. August 27. Replies to communication dated August 1, 1917, of His Holiness Benedictus XV, Pope, addressed "To the Rulers of the Belligerent Peoples," setting out peace proposals. [See text in full, Appendix B.]

1917. August 30. Issues statement announcing price of wheat fixed by the Food Administration, under Act of August 10, 1917.

1917. September 4. Issues message "To the Soldiers of the National Army." [See text in full, Appendix B.]

1917. October 12. Issues proclamation appointing Wednesday, the 24th of October, as Liberty Day, and urging and advising "the people to assemble in their respective communities and pledge to one another and to the Government that represents them the fullest measure of financial support."

1917. October 19. Issues proclamation appointing "October 28th, being the last Sunday of the present month, as a day of supplication and prayer for all the people of the nation, earnestly exhorting all my countrymen to observe the appointed day, according to their several faiths, in solemn prayer that God's blessing may rest upon the high task which is laid upon us, to the end that the cause for which we give our lives and treasure may triumph and our efforts be blessed with high achievement."

1917. October 28. Issues public appeal for food conservation.

1917. November 12. Delivers address to the American Federation of Labor Convention at Buffalo, N. Y. [See address in full, Appendix B.]

1917. December 4. Delivers fifth annual address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress:

" * * * What shall we do then to push this great war of freedom and justice to its righteous conclusion? We must clear away with a thorough hand all impediments to success and we must make every adjustment of law that will facilitate the full and free use of our whole capacity and force as a fighting unit.

"One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany, but not with her allies. I therefore very earnestly recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. * * * Austria-Hungary is for the time being not her own mistress but simply the vassal of the German Government. * * * The same logic would lead also to a declaration of war against Turkey and Bulgaria. They also are the tools of Germany. But they are mere tools and do not yet stand in the direct path of our necessary action. * * *

"What I am perfectly clear about is that in the present session of the Congress our whole attention and energy should be concentrated on the vigorous, rapid and successful prosecution of the great task of winning the war."

1917. December 7. A joint resolution declaring the existence of a state of war with Austria-Hungary was adopted in both Senate and House with only one vote in opposition.

1917. December 26. Issues a proclamation placing the railroads of the United States under Government control.

1918. January 4. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress:

"I have asked the privilege of addressing you in order to report to you that on the twenty-eighth of December last, during the recess of the Congress, I took possession and assumed control of the railway lines of the country and the systems of water transportation under their control. This step seemed to be imperatively necessary in the interest of the public welfare, in the presence of the great tasks of war with which we are now dealing. * * *

"While the present authority of the Executive suffices for all purposes of administration, and while of course all private interests must for the present give way to the public necessity, it is, I am sure you will agree with me, right and necessary that the owners and creditors of the railways, the holders of their stocks and bonds, should receive from the Government an unqualified guarantee that their properties will be maintained throughout the period of federal control in as good repair and as complete equipment as at present, and that the several roads will receive under federal management such compensation as is equitable and just alike to their owners and to the general public. I would suggest the average net railway operating income of the three years ending June 30, 1917. I earnestly recommend that these guarantees be given by appropriate legislation, and given as promptly as circumstances will permit."

1918. January 8. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress, outlining "the pro-

gram of the world's peace" in fourteen specific points. (See address in full, Appendix B.)

1918. February 11. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress:

"On the eighth of January I had the honor of addressing you on the objects of the war as our people conceive them. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had spoken in similar terms on the fifth of January. To these addresses the German Chancellor replied on the twenty-fourth, and Count Czernin, for Austria, on the same day. * * *

"Count Czernin's reply, which is directed chiefly to my own address of the eighth of January, is uttered in a very friendly tone. He finds in my statement a sufficiently encouraging approach to the views of his own Government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two Governments. * * *

"Count Von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads it is not clear where. But it is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin, and apparently of an opposite purpose. * * * The method the German Chancellor proposes is the method of the Congress of Vienna. We cannot and will not return to that. * * *

"After all, the test of whether it is possible for either Government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

"First, that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent;

"Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be

bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power, but that

"Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival states; and

"Fourth, that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

"A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed."

1918. March 29. President Wilson having steadily urged unification of Allied command, congratulates General Ferdinand Foch on assuming Supreme Command of all Armies, including the American Expeditionary Forces, at this gravest and most critical moment of the war:

"May I not convey to you my sincere congratulations on your new authority? Such unity of command is a most hopeful augury of ultimate success. We are following with profound interest the bold and brilliant action of your forces. Woodrow Wilson."

Permission to use our divisions with the French and British was the cause of universal rejoicing and favorable comment everywhere both here and abroad. General Pershing sent the following message:

"American Expeditionary Force in France placed in its entirety at the disposal of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief. Have made all our resources available, and

our divisions will be used if and when needed. French are in fine spirits, and both Armies seem confident. Pershing."

1918. April 6. Delivers address at Baltimore, Md., in connection with Liberty Loan Drive:

"Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether Justice and Peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether Right as America conceives it, or Dominion as she conceives it, shall determine the Destinies of Mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant Force which shall make Right the law of the World, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust."

1918. May 18. Delivers address at the opening of the campaign in New York City for the second Red Cross fund:

" * * * There are two duties with which we are face to face. The first duty is to win the war. The second duty, that goes hand in hand with it, is to win it greatly and worthily, showing the real quality of our power, not only, but the real quality of our purpose and of ourselves. * * * Friendship is the only cement that will ever hold the world together."

1918. May 27. Delivers an address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress:

"It is with unaffected reluctance that I come to ask you to prolong your session long enough to provide more adequate resources for the Treasury for the conduct of the war. * * * The consideration that dominates every other now, and makes every other seem trivial and negligible, is the winning of the war. We are not only in the midst of the war, we are at the very peak and crisis of it. * * * Politics is adjourned.

The elections will go to those who think least of it; to those who go to their constituencies without explanations or excuses, with a plain record of duty faithfully and disinterestedly performed."

1918. June 5. Writes letter to editor of the Springfield, Mass., *Republican* stating that he did not send General Leonard Wood to Europe because, among other reasons, General Pershing had said that he did not want him.

1918. June 7. Delivers address at White House to a party of editors from the Republic of Mexico.

1918. July 4. Four minute address read in 5,300 communities.

1918. July 4. Delivers address to the Diplomatic Corps at Mount Vernon, Va.:

" * * * The Past and the Present are in deadly grapple and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them." (See address, in full, Appendix B.)

1918. July 22. Issues a proclamation placing the telegraph and telephone systems of the United States under Government control.

1918. July 26. Issues statement:

"My Fellow Countrymen: I take the liberty of addressing you upon a subject which so vitally affects the honor of the Nation and the very character and integrity of our institutions that I trust you will think me justified in speaking very plainly about it.

"I allude to the mob spirit. * * * There have been many lynchings, and every one of them has been a blow at the heart of ordered law and humane justice. * * *

"I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob or gives it any sort of countenance is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer. * * *

"I have called upon the Nation to put its great energy into this war and it has responded—responded with a spirit and a genius for action that have thrilled the world. I now call upon it, upon its men and women everywhere, to see to it that its laws are kept inviolate, its fame untarnished."

1918. August 31. Signs the amended Selective Draft Act and issues proclamation thereunder.

1918. September 27. Delivers address at opening campaign for Fourth Liberty Loan in New York City:

" * * * If it be in deed and in truth the common object of the Governments associated against Germany and of the nations whom they govern, as I believe it to be, to achieve by the coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be necessary that all who sit down at the peace table shall come ready and willing to pay the price, the only price, that will procure it; and ready and willing, also, to create in some virile fashion the only instrumentality by which it can be made certain that the agreements of the peace will be honored and fulfilled.

"That price is impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed; and not only impartial justice but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is a League of Nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality by which the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part upon the word of outlaws and only upon that word. For Germany will have to redeem her character, not by what happens at the peace table, but by what follows.

"And as I see it, the constitution of that League of Nations and the clear definition of its objects must be a

part, is in a sense the most essential part, of the peace settlement itself. * * *

"But these general terms do not disclose the whole matter. Some details are needed to make them sound less like a thesis and more like a practical program. These, then, are some of the particulars, and I state them with the greater confidence because I can state them authoritatively as representing this Government's interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace:

"First, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned;

"Second, no special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all;

"Third, there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations.

"Fourth, and more specifically, there can be no special selfish economic combinations within the League and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

"Fifth, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world."

1918. September 30. Delivers address to the Senate of the United States:

" * * * I regard the concurrence of the Senate in

the constitutional amendment proposing the extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged." (See address in full, Appendix B.)

1918. October 6 and 7. Germany and Austria request President Wilson to take steps for the restoration of peace:

[From the new German Chancellor, Prince Max.]: "The German Government requests the President of the United States of America to take steps for the restoration of peace. * * * The German Government accepts, as a basis for the peace negotiations, the program laid down by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of January 8, 1918, and in his subsequent pronouncements, particularly in his address of September 27, 1918. In order to avoid further bloodshed the German Government requests to bring about the immediate conclusion of a general armistice on land, on water, and in the air."

[From the Austro-Hungarian Government]: "The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy * * * addresses itself to His Lordship, the President of the United States of America, and offers to conclude with him and his Allies an armistice on every front on land, at sea, and in the air, and to enter immediately upon negotiations for a peace for which the fourteen points in the Message of President Wilson to Congress of January 8, 1918, and the four points contained in President Wilson's address of February 12, 1918, should serve as a foundation and in which the viewpoints declared by President Wilson in his address of September 27, 1918, will also be taken into account."

1918. October 8. Replies to Germany's peace proposal:

" * * * Does the Imperial Chancellor mean that the Imperial German Government accepts the terms laid down by the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on the eighth of January last and in subsequent addresses and that its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon the practical details of their application?

"The President feels bound to say with regard to the suggestion of an armistice that he would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated against the Central Powers so long as the armies of those powers are upon their soil. The good faith of any discussion would manifestly depend upon the consent of the Central Powers immediately to withdraw their forces everywhere from invaded territory.

"The President also feels that he is justified in asking whether the Imperial Chancellor is speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the Empire who have so far conducted the war. He deems the answers to these questions vital from every point of view."

1918. October 12. Germany answers:

"In reply to the question of the United States of America, the German Government hereby declares:

"The German Government has accepted the terms laid down by President Wilson in his address of January the eighth, and in his subsequent addresses, as the foundations of a permanent peace of justice. Consequently, its object in entering upon discussions would be only to agree upon practical details of the application of these terms.

"The German Government believes that the governments of the powers associated with the United States also accept the position taken by President Wilson in his addresses.

"The German Government in accordance with the Austro-Hungarian Government for the purpose of bringing about an armistice declares itself ready to comply with the propositions of the President in regard to evacuation.

"The German Government suggests that the President may occasion the meeting of a mixed commission for making the necessary arrangements concerning the evacuation.

"The present German Government which has undertaken the responsibility for this step toward peace has been formed by conference and in agreement with the great majority of the Reichstag. The Chancellor, supported in all of his actions by the will of this majority, speaks in the name of the German Government and of the German people."

1918. October 14. Replies to Germany's note of October 12, 1918:

" * * * It must be clearly understood that the process of evacuation and the conditions of an armistice are matters which must be left to the judgment and advice of the military advisers of the Government of the United States and the Allied Governments. * * *

"The President feels that it is also his duty to add that neither the Government of the United States nor, he is quite sure, the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent, will consent to consider an armistice as long as the armed forces of Germany continue the illegal and inhumane practices which they still persist in. * * *

"It is necessary also, in order that there may be no possibility of misunderstanding, that the President should very solemnly call the attention of the Govern-

ment of Germany to the language and plain intent of one of the terms of peace which the German Government has now accepted. * * * 'The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotency.' * * * The President feels bound to say that the whole process of peace will, in his judgment, depend upon the definiteness and the satisfactory character of the guarantees which can be given in this fundamental matter."

1918. October 18. Replies to note from Austria-Hungary, dated October 7, 1918:

" * * * The President deems it his duty to say to the Austro-Hungarian Government that he cannot entertain the present suggestions of that Government because of certain events of utmost importance which, occurring since the delivery of his address of the 8th of January last, have necessarily altered the attitude and responsibility of the Government of the United States. Among the fourteen terms of peace which the President formulated at that time occurred the following:

" 'X. The people of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.'

"Since that sentence was written and uttered to the Congress of the United States the Government of the United States has recognized that a state of belligerency exists between the Czecho-Slovaks and the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires and that the Czecho-Slovak National Council is a *de facto* belligerent government clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czecho-Slovaks.

It has also recognized in the fullest manner the justice of the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugo-Slavs for freedom.

"The President is, therefore, no longer at liberty to accept the mere 'autonomy' of these peoples as a basis of peace, but is obliged to insist that they, and not he, shall be the judges of what action on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government will satisfy their aspirations and their conception of their rights and destiny as members of the family of nations."

1918. October 20. The German Foreign Minister replies to note of October 14, 1918:

"In accepting the proposal for an evacuation of the occupied territories, the German Government has started from the assumption that the procedure of this evacuation and of the conditions of an armistice should be left to the judgment of the military advisers and that the actual standard of power on both sides in the field has to form the basis for arrangements safeguarding and guaranteeing this standard. The German Government suggests to the President to bring about an opportunity for fixing the details. It trusts that the President of the United States will approve of no demand which would be irreconcilable with the honor of the German people and with opening a way to a peace of justice.

"The German Government protests against the reproach of illegal and inhumane actions made against the German land and sea forces and thereby against the German people. * * *

"As the fundamental conditions for peace, the President characterizes the destruction of every arbitrary power that can separately, secretly and of its own single choice disturb the peace of the world. To this the German Government replies: Hitherto the repre-

sentation of the people in the German Empire has not been endowed with an influence on the formation of the Government. The Constitution did not provide for a concurrence of the representation of the people in decision on peace and war. These conditions have just now undergone a fundamental change. The new government has been formed in complete accord with the wishes of the representation of the people, based on the equal, universal, secret, direct franchise. The leaders of the great parties of the Reichstag are members of this government. In future no government can take or continue in office without possessing the confidence of the majority of the Reichstag. * * * The first act of the new government has been to lay before the Reichstag a bill to alter the Constitution of the Empire so that the consent of the representation of the people is required for decision on war and peace. The permanence of the new system is, however, guaranteed not only by constitutional safeguards, but also by the unshakable determination of the German people, whose vast majority stands behind these reforms and demands their energetic continuance.

"The question of the President, with whom he and the governments associated against Germany are dealing, is therefore answered in a clear and unequivocal manner by the statement that the offer of peace and an armistice has come from a government which, free from arbitrary and irresponsible influence, is supported by the appoval of the overwhelming majority of the German people."

1918. October 23. Replies to German note of October 20, 1918:

" * * * Having received the solemn and explicit assurance of the German Government that it unreservedly accepts the terms of peace * * *; and having

received also the explicit promise of the present German Government that the humane rules of civilized warfare will be observed both on land and sea by the German armed forces, the President of the United States feels that he cannot decline to take up with the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated the question of an armistice. * * *

"The President has, therefore, transmitted his correspondence with the present German authorities to the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent."

1918. October 25. Issues a statement:

"My Fellow Countrymen: The Congressional elections are at hand. They occur in the most critical period our country has ever faced or is likely to face in our time. If you have approved of my leadership and wish me to continue to be your unembarrassed spokesman in affairs at home and abroad, I earnestly beg that you will express yourselves unmistakably to that effect by returning a Democratic majority to both the Senate and the House of Representatives." (See statement in full, Appendix B.)

1918. October 29. Austria-Hungary replies to note of October 18, 1918:

"In reply to the note of President Wilson to the Austro-Hungarian Government, dated October 18 of this year, and about the decision of the President to take up, with Austria-Hungary separately, the question of armistice and peace, the Austro-Hungarian Government has the honor to declare that it adheres both to the previous declaration of the President and his opinion of the rights of the peoples of Austria-Hungary, notably those of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs contained in his last note. Austria-Hungary having thereby accepted all the conditions which

the President had put upon entering into negotiations on the subject of armistice and peace, nothing, in the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government longer stands in the way of beginning those negotiations. The Austro-Hungarian Government therefore declares itself ready to enter, without waiting for the outcome of other negotiations, into negotiations for a peace between Austria-Hungary and the Entente States and for an immediate armistice on all the fronts of Austria-Hungary and begs President Wilson to take the necessary measures to that effect."

1918. November 4. The Allies agreed upon a draft of armistice. General Bliss, in a memorandum to the Allies, severely criticized this draft, pointing out that it did not demand unconditional surrender, immediate demobilization, and disarming of the German troops. The Allies, however, under the advice of General Foch, disregarded General Bliss's suggestions, and accepted the draft previously agreed upon October 5th, with certain changes and qualifications, such as freedom of the seas, etc.

1918. November 5. Sends note to Germany (from Secretary of State through Swiss Minister):

"The President is now in receipt of a memorandum of observations by the Allied Governments on this correspondence [transmitted October 23, 1918], which is as follows:

"The Allied Governments have given careful consideration to the correspondence which has passed between the President of the United States and the German Government. Subject to the qualifications which follow they declare their willingness to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement

enunciated in his subsequent addresses. They must point out, however, that clause 2 relating to what is usually described as the freedom of the seas, is open to various interpretations, some of which they could not accept. They must, therefore, reserve to themselves complete freedom on this subject when they enter the peace conference.

"Further, in the conditions of peace laid down in his address to Congress of January 8, 1918, the President declared that invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and freed. The Allied Governments feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision provides. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany, by land, by sea and from the air.

"I am instructed by the President to say that he is in agreement with the interpretations set forth in the last paragraph of the memorandum above quoted. I am further instructed by the President to request you to notify the German Government that Marshal Foch has been authorized by the Government of the United States and the Allied Governments to receive properly accredited representatives of the German Government, and to communicate to them the terms of an armistice."

["The terms of the armistice requested by the German Government, in the correspondence printed in the pages immediately preceding, were unanimously agreed upon at the Inter-Allied War Council on October 31, were presented to German delegates on November 8, and were accepted on November 11."—"The Messages and Papers of Woodrow Wilson," Review of Reviews Co., vol. I, p. 548.]

1918. November 11. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress:

" * * * The German authorities who have, at the invitation of the Supreme War Council, been in communication with Marshal Foch have accepted and signed the terms of armistice which he was authorized and instructed to communicate to them. * * *

"The war thus comes to an end; for, having accepted these terms of armistice, it will be impossible for the German command to renew it."

1918. December 2. Delivers address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress:

" * * * What we all thank God for with deepest gratitude is that our men went in force into the line of battle just at the critical moment when the whole fate of the world seemed to hang in the balance and threw their fresh strength into the ranks of freedom in time to turn the whole tide and sweep of the fateful struggle,—turn it once for all, so that henceforth it was back, back, back for their enemies, always back, never again forward! After that it was only a scant four months before the commanders of the Central Empires knew themselves beaten; and now their very empires are in liquidation. * * *

"It has been an inspiring thing to be here in the midst of fine men who had turned aside from every private interest of their own and devoted the whole of their trained capacity to the tasks that supplied the sinews of the whole great undertaking! * * *

"And what shall we say of the women * * * the least tribute we can pay them is to make them the equals of men in political rights as they have proved themselves their equals in every field of practical work they have entered, whether for themselves or for their country. * * *

"I hope that the members of the Senate will permit me to speak once more of the unratified treaty of friendship and adjustment with the Republic of Colombia. I very earnestly urge upon them an early and favorable action upon that vital matter. * * *

"The ordinary and normal processes of private initiative will not (however) provide immediate employment for all of the men of our returning armies. * * * It seems to me important, therefore, that the development of public works of every sort should be promptly resumed, in order that opportunities should be created for unskilled labor in particular, and that plans should be made for such developments of our unused lands and our natural resources as we have hitherto lacked stimulation to undertake. * * * The Congress can at once direct thousands of the returning soldiers to the reclamation of the arid lands which it has already undertaken, if it will but enlarge the plans and the appropriations which it has entrusted to the Department of the Interior. * * *

"I take it for granted that the Congress will carry out the naval program which was undertaken before we entered the war. * * *

"The question which causes me the greatest concern is the question of the policy to be adopted toward the railroads. I frankly turn to you for your counsel upon it. * * * The one conclusion that I am ready to state with confidence is that it would be a disservice alike to the country and to the owners of the railroads to return to the old conditions unmodified. Those are conditions of restraint without development. There is nothing affirmative or helpful about them. * * *

"I welcome this occasion to announce to the Congress my purpose to join in Paris the representatives of the governments with which we have been associated

in the war against the Central Empires for the purpose of discussing with them the main features of the treaty of peace. * * * I shall be in close touch with you and with affairs on this side of the water, and you will know all that I do. * * *

"May I not hope, Gentlemen of the Congress, that in the delicate tasks I shall have to perform on the other side of the sea, in my efforts truly and faithfully to interpret the principles and purposes of the country we love, I may have the encouragement and the added strength of your united support? I realize the magnitude and difficulty of the duty I am undertaking; I am poignantly aware of its grave responsibilities. I am the servant of the nation. I can have no private thought or purpose of my own in performing such an errand. I go to give the best that is in me to the common settlements which I must now assist in arriving at in conference with the other working heads of the associated governments. I shall count upon your friendly countenance and encouragement. I shall not be inaccessible. The cables and the wireless will render me available for any counsel or service you may desire of me, and I shall be happy in the thought that I am constantly in touch with the weighty matters of domestic policy with which we shall have to deal. I shall make my absence as brief as possible and shall hope to return with the happy assurance that it has been possible to translate into action the great ideals for which America has striven."

1918. December 4. Sails for Europe to attend the Peace Conference at Paris.

1918. December 14. Arrives in Paris, France. Replies to President Poincaré's address of welcome.

1918. December 21. Delivers an address at the

University of Paris, acknowledging Doctor's honorary degree.

1918. December 25. Reviews United States troops at Humes, France, and delivers address.

1918. December 26. Arrives in London and is guest of the King and Queen of England, at Buckingham Palace.

1918. December 27. Replies to address of welcome by the King of England at a banquet held in honor of the President and Mrs. Wilson, Buckingham Palace, London:

" * * * It will be our high privilege, I believe, sir, not only to apply the moral judgments of the world to the particular settlements which we shall attempt, but also to organize the moral force of the world to preserve those settlements, to steady the forces of mankind and to make the right and the justice to which great nations like our own have devoted themselves the predominant and controlling force of the world." [See text in full, Appendix B.]

1918. December 28. Replies to address by the Lord Mayor at Guildhall, London, England.

1918. December 29. Delivers address to congregation of Lowther Street Congregational Church, Carlisle, England.

1918. December 30. Delivers two addresses at Manchester, England.

1919. January 1. Leaves for Rome, Italy.

1919. January 3. Arrives in Rome and is the guest of the King (Victor Emmanuel) and the Queen of Italy. Visits the Pope at the Vatican.

1919. January 3. Replies to address of welcome by the King of Italy, at the Quirinal, Rome.

1919. January 3. Delivers address at the Capitol, accepting citizenship of Rome.

1919. January 3. Delivers address before the Italian Parliament.

1919. January 4. Delivers address at the Academy of the Lencei, Rome, upon being made a member.

1919. January 5. Delivers three addresses at Genoa, Italy; (a) at the monument of Mazzini; (b) at the Municipalite, upon being made a citizen of Genoa; and (c) at the monument of Columbus.

1919. January 5. Delivers six addresses at Milan, Italy; (a) at the station; (b) at the Palazzio; (c) to the League of Mothers and Widows; (d) at the Municipalite; (e) at La Scala; and (f) from the balcony of La Scala.

1919. January 6. Delivers five addresses at Turin, Italy; (a) at the Municipalite; (b) from the balcony of the Municipalite; (c) at the Philharmonic Club; (d) from the balcony of the Philharmonic Club; and (e) at the University of Turin.

1919. January 7. Arrives in Paris.

1919. January 18. Delivers address at opening session of the Peace Conference, Paris, France.

"It gives me great pleasure to propose as permanent chairman of the conference M. Clemenceau, the President of the Council."

1919. January 25. Delivers address before second plenary session of the Peace Conference.

1919. February 3. Delivers address before the French Chamber of Deputies.

1919. February 14. As chairman of the League of Nations Commission, presents the report of the Commission on a plan for the League of Nations:

"Mr. Chairman: I have the honor and as I esteem it the very great privilege of reporting in the name of the Commission constituted by this conference on the formulation of a plan for the League of Nations. I

am happy to say that it is a unanimous report, a unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Roumania and Serbia. I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I, with your permission, read the document as the only report we have to make."

The suggestions made by Messrs. Lowell, Root and Taft were, for the most part, adopted.

1919. February 15. Sails from France for the United States.

1919. February 24. Lands at Boston, Mass., and delivers address in Mechanics' Hall at which Governor Calvin Coolidge (afterward Vice-President and President of the United States) presided:

" * * * Arrangements of the present peace cannot stand a generation unless they are guaranteed by the united forces of the civilized world. And if we do not guarantee them can you not see the picture? * * * When I think of the homes upon which dull despair would settle if this great hope is disappointed, I should wish, for my part, never to have had America play any part whatever in this attempt to emancipate the world. But I talk as if there were any question. I have no more doubt of the verdict of America in this matter than I have doubt of the blood that is in me. And so, my fellow-citizens, I have come back to report progress, and I do not believe that progress is going to stop short of the goal. The nations of the world have set their heads now to do a great thing, and they are not going to slacken their purpose. And when I speak of the nations of the world I do not speak of the governments of the world. I speak of peoples who constitute the nations of the world. They are in the

saddle, and they are going to see to it that if their present governments do not do their will, some other governments shall. The secret is out, and present governments know it. There is a great deal of harmony to be got out of common knowledge. * * *

I have come back for a strenuous attempt to transact business for a little while in America, but I have really come back to say to you, in all soberness and honesty, that I have been trying my best to speak your thoughts."

1919. March 4. Delivers address in New York City, at which Ex-President Taft also spoke in favor of the League of Nations:

"My Fellow Citizens: I accept the intimation of the air just played ["Over There"]. I will not come back 'till it's over, over there.' And yet I pray God in the interests of peace of the world that that may be soon.

"The first thing that I am going to tell the people on the other side of the water is that an overwhelming majority of the American people is in favor of the League of Nations. I know that that is true. I have had unmistakable intimations of it from all parts of the country, and the voice rings true in every case. I account myself fortunate to speak here under the unusual circumstances of this evening. I am happy to associate myself with Mr. Taft in this great cause. He has displayed an elevation of view and devotion to public duty which is beyond praise.

"And I am the more happy because this means that this is not a party issue. No party has a right to appropriate this issue and no party will in the long run dare oppose it.

"We have listened to so clear and admirable an exposition [Mr. Taft's address having preceded that

of the President] of many of the main features of the proposed covenant of the League of Nations that it is perhaps not necessary for me to discuss in any particular way the contents of the document. I will seek rather to give you its setting. I do not know when I have been more impressed than by the conferences of the commission set up, by the conference of peace, to draw up the covenant for a League of Nations. The representatives of fourteen nations sat around that board—not young men, not men inexperienced in the affairs of their own countries, not men inexperienced in the politics of the world—and the inspiring influence of every meeting was the concurrence of purpose on the part of all those men to come to an agreement and an effective working agreement with regard to this League of the civilized world. * * *

"Mr. Taft has set a picture for you of what failure of this great purpose would mean. * * *

"When I was in Italy, a little limping group of wounded Italian soldiers sought an interview with me. I could not conjecture what it was they were going to say to me, and with the greatest simplicity, with touching simplicity, they presented me with a petition in favor of the League of Nations. Their wounded limbs, their impaired vitality, were the only argument they brought with them. * * *

"The day will come when men in America will look back with swelling hearts and rising pride that they should have been privileged to make the sacrifice which it was necessary to make in order to combine their might and their moral power with the cause of justice for men of every kind everywhere.

"God give us the strength and vision to do it wisely. God give us the privilege of knowing that we did it

without counting the cost, and because we were true Americans, lovers of liberty and of right."

1919. March 5. Sails for Europe to resume participation in the Peace Conference at Paris.

1919. March 13. Lands at Brest.

1919. March 14. Arrives in Paris.

1919. April 23. Issues a statement on controversy with Italy over the Adriatic question:

" * * * Fiume must serve as the outlet and inlet of the commerce, not of Italy, but of the lands to the north and northeast of that port, Hungary, Bohemia, Rumania, and the states of the new Jugoslavic group. To assign Fiume to Italy would be to create the feeling that we had deliberately put the port upon which all these countries chiefly depend for their access to the Mediterranean in the hands of a power of which it did not form an integral part and whose sovereignty, if set up there, must inevitably seem foreign, not domestic or identified with the commercial and industrial life of the regions which the port must serve. It is for that reason, no doubt, that Fiume was not included in the Pact of London, but there definitely assigned to the Croatians."

1919. April 28. As chairman of the League of Nations Commission, presents to the Peace Conference the revised covenant of the League of Nations report in full, with revised covenant. (See text in full, Appendix B.)

1919. May 9. Delivers address before the International Law Society, Paris.

1919. May 20. Sends message from Paris via cable to the two Houses of Congress at the beginning of the first (extraordinary) session of the 66th Congress. (See text in full, Appendix B.)

1919. May 30. Delivers address at Memorial Day exercises, Suresnes Cemetery, near Paris.

1919. June 19. Delivers four addresses at Brussels, Belgium; (a) at the American legation; (b) before the Belgian Chamber of Deputies; (c) at the Hotel de Ville; and (d) at dinner given in his honor by the King of the Belgians.

1919. June 26. Replies to speech of President Poincaré, at farewell dinner in his honor, Paris.

1919. June 28. Signs Treaty of Peace with Germany at Versailles.

1919. June 28. Addresses the American people, through cable made public at Washington, explaining provisions of Treaty of Peace. (See address in full, Appendix B.)

1919. June 28. Leaves Paris.

1919. June 29. Sails from Brest for America.

1919. July 4. Delivers address to soldiers and sailors of the U.S.S. *"George Washington."*

1919. July 8. Lands at Hoboken, N. J.

1919. July 8. Delivers address at New York City:

" * * * You have made me deeply happy by the generous welcome you have extended to me. But I do not believe that the welcome you have extended to me is half as great as that which I extend to you. Why, Jerseyman though I am, this is the first time I ever thought Hoboken beautiful. I really have, though I have tried on the other side of the water to conceal it, been the most homesick man in the American Expeditionary Force, and it is with feelings that it would be vain for me to try to express that I find myself in this beloved country again. * * *

"The Governor has spoken of a great task ended.

Yes, the formulation of the peace is ended, but it creates only a new task just begun. I believe that if you will study the peace you will see that it is a just peace and a peace which, if it can be preserved, will save the world from unnecessary bloodshed. And now the great task is to preserve it. I have come back with my heart full of enthusiasm for throwing everything that I can, by way of influence or action, in with you to see that the peace is preserved—that when the long reckoning comes men may look back upon this generation of America and say: 'They were true to the vision which they saw at their birth.' "

1919. July 10. Delivers address to the United States Senate:

"The treaty of peace with Germany was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth of June. I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to lay the treaty before you for ratification and to inform you with regard to the work of the Conference by which the treaty was formulated." (See address in full, Appendix B.)

1919. July 29. Sends message to the United States Senate with the text of a treaty between France, the United States and Great Britain, known as the tripartite treaty of guarantee.

1919. August 8. Delivers an address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress on the cost of living:

"I have sought this opportunity to address you because it is clearly my duty to call your attention to the present cost of living and to urge upon you with all the persuasive force of which I am capable the legislative measures which would be most effective in controlling it and bringing it down. * * *

"Let me urge, in the first place, that the present Food Control Act should be extended both as to the

period of time during which it shall remain in operation and as to the commodities to which it shall apply. * * *

"To the same end, I earnestly recommend, in the second place, that the Congress pass a law regulating cold storage as it is regulated, for example, by the laws of the State of New Jersey."

1919. August 19. Holds conference at the White House with members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

The Committee met at the White House at 10 o'clock A.M., pursuant to the invitation of the President, and proceeded to the East Room, where the conference was held.

Present: Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, and the following members of the committee: Senators Lodge (chairman), McCumber, Borah, Brandegee, Fall, Knox, Harding, Johnson, of California, New, Moses, Hitchcock, Williams, Swanson, Pomerene, Smith and Pittman.

The President:

"Mr. Chairman, I have taken the liberty of writing out a little statement in the hope that it might facilitate discussion by speaking directly on some points that I know have been points of controversy and upon which I thought an expression of opinion would not be unwelcome. I am absolutely glad that the committee should have responded in this way to my intimation that I would like to be of service to it. I welcome the opportunity for a frank and full interchange of views."

Following reading of the statement, the President was questioned at length by the members of the Committee on different phases and aspects of the provisions in the Peace Treaty. The Conference adjourned at 1 o'clock and 35 minutes P.M., having been in ses-

sion for three hours and thirty-five minutes. The complete report of this Conference covers fifty-six printed pages (66th Congress, 1st session, Senate Document No. 76).

1919. September 3. Leaves Washington for Pacific Coast for purpose of making a series of addresses en route explaining the Treaty of Peace with Germany, and the League of Nations, and urging the country to support them. In many of the addresses industrial conditions, high cost of living and race riots are discussed.

1919. September 4 to 25. First address delivered at Columbus, Ohio, September 4th; and as it is representative of the principal thoughts included in remainder of addresses made on this trip, it is given in full in Appendix B. Other addresses were made at Indianapolis, Ind., St. Louis, Mo., Kansas City, Mo., Des Moines, Iowa, Omaha, Nebr., Sioux Falls, S. D., St. Paul, Minn., Bismarck, N. D., Mandan, N. D., Billings, Mont., Helena, Mont., Cœur d'Alêne, Idaho, Spokane, Wash., Tacoma, Wash., Seattle, Wash., Portland, Ore., San Francisco, Cal., Oakland, Cal., San Diego, Cal., Los Angeles, Cal., Reno, Nev., Salt Lake City, Utah, Cheyenne, Wyo., Denver, Colo., and Pueblo, Colo. (Complete text of all these addresses covers 370 pages and is printed as Senate Document No. 120, 66th Congress, 1st Session.)

1919. September 17. From San Francisco sends telegraphic call to twenty-two men for "a conference at Washington October 6 for the purpose of discussing the labor situation in the country and the possibility of formulating plans for the development of a new relationship between capital and labor."

1919. September 26. While on train bound for Wichita, Kansas (where next address was to be made

that date), is taken ill and—upon advice of physician—remainder of tour is abandoned. Returns to Washington, having made forty addresses in twenty-two days, in seventeen States, and traveled about eight thousand miles.

1919. September 28. Arrives in Washington, D. C.

1919. October 22. Sends message to the National Industrial Conference (called for October sixth):

"I am advised by your chairman that you have come to a situation which appears to threaten the life of your conference. * * *

"It is my understanding that you have divided upon one portion only of a possible large program which has not been fully developed. Before a severance is effected, based upon present differences, I believe you should stand together for the development of that full program touching the many questions within the broad scope of your investigations. * * *

"I renew my appeal with full comprehension of the almost incomparable importance of your tasks to this and to other people, and with full faith in the high patriotism and good faith of each other that you push your task to a happy conclusion."

1919. October 25. Issues a statement:

"On September 23, 1919, the convention of the United Mine Workers of America at Cleveland, Ohio, adopted a proposal declaring that all contracts in the bituminous field shall be declared as having automatically expired November 1, 1919, and making various demands, including a 60 per cent increase in wages and the adoption of a six-hour workday and a five-day week; and providing that, in the event a satisfactory wage agreement should not be secured for the central competitive field before November 1, 1919, the na-

tional officials should be authorized and instructed to call a general strike of all bituminous miners and mine workers throughout the United States, effective November 1, 1919.

"Pursuant to these instructions, the officers of the organization have issued a call to make the strike effective November 1. This is one of the gravest steps ever proposed in this country, affecting the economic welfare and the domestic comfort and health of the people. It is proposed to abrogate an agreement as to wages which was made with the sanction of the United States Fuel Administration and which was to run during the continuance of the war, but not beyond April 1, 1920. * * *

"The action proposed has apparently been taken without any vote upon the specific proposition by the individual members of the United Mine Workers of America throughout the United States, an almost unprecedented proceeding. I cannot believe that any right of any American worker needs for its protection the taking of this extraordinary step, and I am convinced that when the time and manner are considered, it constitutes a fundamental attack, which is wrong both legally and morally, upon the rights of society and upon the welfare of our country. I feel convinced that individual members of the United Mine Workers would not vote, upon full consideration, in favor of such a strike under these conditions.

"When a movement reaches a point where it appears to involve practically the entire productive capacity of the country with respect to one of the most vital necessities of daily domestic and industrial life, * * * the public interest becomes the paramount consideration.

"In these circumstances I solemnly request both the

national and the local officers and also the individual members of the United Mine Workers of America to recall all orders looking to a strike on November 1 and to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent any stoppage of work.

"It is time for plain speaking. * * * I feel it my duty in the public interest to declare that any attempt to carry out the purposes of this strike and thus to paralyze the industry of the country, with the consequent suffering and distress of all our people, must be considered a grave moral and legal wrong against the Government and the people of the United States. I can do nothing less than to say that the law will be enforced and the means will be found to protect the interests of the nation in any emergency that may arise out of this unhappy business.

"I express no opinion on the merits of the controversy. I have already suggested a plan by which a settlement may be reached, and I hold myself in readiness at the request of either or both sides to appoint at once a tribunal to investigate all the facts with a view to aiding in the earliest possible orderly settlement of the questions at issue between the coal operators and the coal miners, to the end that the just rights, not only of those interests but also of the general public, may be fully protected."

1919. October 27. Vetoes the Volstead Act "to prohibit intoxicating beverages and to regulate the manufacture, production, use and sale of high-proof spirits for other than beverage purposes," etc. [See text of veto in full, Appendix B.]

NOTE: On same date the House of Representatives passed the Act over the veto (Aye 175, No 55, Not voting 198); and on October 28, 1919, the Senate

passed the Act over the veto (Aye 65, No 20, Not voting 11).

1919. November 11. Issues a "Message to the Country" on the first anniversary of Armistice Day.

1919. November 18. Writes letter to Senator Hitchcock (the following being reproduced from New York *Times* of November 20, 1919):

"Washington, Nov. 18. Following is the text of the letter from President Wilson to Senator Hitchcock, which was read at the Democratic conference this morning:

" 'My dear Senator—You were good enough to bring me word that the Democratic Senators supporting the treaty expected to hold a conference between the final votes on the Lodge resolution of ratification and that they would be glad to receive a word of counsel from me.

" 'I should hesitate to offer it in any detail, but I assume that the Senators only desire my judgment upon the all-important question of the final vote on the resolution containing the many reservations of Senator Lodge. On that I cannot hesitate, for in my opinion the resolution in that form does not provide for ratification, but rather for the nullification of the treaty.

" 'I sincerely hope that the friends and supporters of the treaty will vote against the Lodge resolution of ratification.

" 'I understand that the door will then probably be open for a genuine resolution of ratification.

" 'I trust that all true friends of the treaty will refuse to support the Lodge resolution.

" 'Cordially and sincerely yours,

" 'WOODROW WILSON.' "

1919. November 19. On motion in United States Senate to ratify the Versailles Treaty with Lodge

reservations the vote stood Ayes 41, Nays 51, and the Treaty therefore failed. Seven Democrats and 34 Republicans voted aye; 38 Democrats and 13 Republicans voted nay.

1919. December 2. Sends seventh annual message to the two Houses of Congress:

"I sincerely regret that I cannot be present at the opening of this session of the Congress. I am thus prevented from presenting in as direct a way as I could wish the many questions that are pressing for solution at this time. Happily, I have had the advantage of the advice of the heads of the several executive departments who have kept in close touch with affairs in their detail and whose thoughtful recommendations I earnestly second.

"In the matter of the railroads and the readjustment of their affairs growing out of federal control, I shall take the liberty at a later date of addressing you.

"I hope that Congress will bring to a conclusion at this session legislation looking to the establishment of a budget system. * * *

"I trust that the Congress will give its immediate consideration to the problem of future taxation. * * *

"A fundamental change has taken place with reference to the position of America in the world's affairs. * * * Before the war America was heavily the debtor of the rest of the world and the interest payments she had to make to foreign countries on American securities held abroad, the expenditures of American travelers abroad and the ocean freight charges she had to pay to others, about balanced the value of her prewar favorable balance of trade. During the war America's exports have been greatly stimulated, and increased prices have increased their value. On the

other hand, she has purchased a large proportion of the American securities previously held abroad, has loaned some $9,000,000,000 to foreign governments, and has built her own ships. Our favorable balance of trade has thus been greatly increased and Europe has been deprived of the means of meeting it heretofore existing. * * * The productivity of the country greatly stimulated by the war must find an outlet by exports to foreign countries, and any measures taken to prevent imports will inevitably curtail exports, force curtailment of production, load the banking machinery of the country with credits to carry unsold products and produce industrial stagnation and unemployment. If we want to sell, we must be prepared to buy. Whatever, therefore, may have been our views during the period of growth of American business concerning tariff legislation, we must now adjust our own economic life to a changed condition growing out of the fact that American business is full-grown and that America is the greatest capitalist in the world.

"No policy of isolation will satisfy the growing needs and opportunities of America. * * * The recent war has ended our isolation and thrown upon us a great duty and responsibility. The United States must share the expanding world market. * * *

"There are other matters of importance upon which I urged action at the last session of Congress which are still pressing for solution. I am sure it is not necessary for me again to remind you that there is one immediate and very practicable question resulting from the war which we should meet in the most liberal spirit. It is a matter of recognition and relief to our soldiers. * * *

"In the matter of tariff legislation, I beg to call your attention to the statements contained in my last

message urging legislation with reference to the establishment of the chemical and dyestuffs industry in America. * * *

"During the war the farmer performed a vital and willing service to the nation. * * * He indispensably helped to win the war. But there is now scarcely less need of increasing the production in food and the necessaries of life. I ask the Congress to consider means of encouraging effort along these lines. * * * I would urge also the continuance of federal participation in the building of good roads; * * * the need of further action on the part of the States and the Federal Government to preserve and develop our forest resources; * * * better support for country schools and the more definite direction of their courses of study along lines related to rural problems; and fuller provision for sanitation in rural districts and the building up of needed hospital and medical facilities in these localities. * * *

"I would call your attention to the widespread condition of political restlessness in our body politic. The causes of this unrest, while various and complicated, are superficial rather than deep-seated. Broadly, they arise from or are connected with the failure on the part of our Government to arrive speedily at a just and permanent peace permitting return to normal conditions, from the transfusion of radical theories from seething European centers pending such delay, from heartless profiteering resulting in the increase in the cost of living, and lastly from the machinations of passionate and malevolent agitators. With the return to normal conditions, this unrest will rapidly disappear. In the meantime, it does much evil. It seems to me that in dealing with this situation Congress should not be impatient or drastic but should seek rather to re-

move the causes. * * * In this direct connection, I would call your attention to my recommendations on August 8th, pointing out legislative measures which would be effective in controlling and bringing down the present cost of living, which contributes so largely to this unrest. On only one of these recommendations has the Congress acted. If the Government's campaign is to be effective, it is necessary that the other steps suggested should be acted on at once.

"I renew and strongly urge the necessity of the extension of the present Food Control Act as to the period of time in which it shall remain in operation. * * *

"I also renew my recommendation that the Congress pass a law regulating cold storage. * * *

"No one who has observed the march of events in the last year can fail to note the absolute need of a definite program to bring about an improvement in the conditions of labor. There can be no settled conditions leading to increased production and a reduction in the cost of living if labor and capital are to be antagonists instead of partners. * * * The only way to keep men from agitating against grievances is to remove the grievances. * * * The real antidote for the unrest which manifests itself is not suppression, but a deep consideration of the wrongs that beset our national life and the application of a remedy.

"Congress has already shown its willingness to deal with these industrial wrongs by establishing the eight-hour day as the standard in every field of labor. It has sought to find a way to prevent child labor. It has served the whole country by leading the way in developing the means of preserving and safeguarding lives and health in dangerous industries. It must now help in the difficult task of finding a method that will bring

about a genuine democratization of industry, based upon the full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare. * * *

"The great unrest throughout the world, out of which has emerged a demand for an immediate consideration of the difficulties between capital and labor, bids us put our own house in order. Frankly, there can be no permanent and lasting settlements between capital and labor which do not recognize the fundamental concepts for which labor has been struggling through the years.

" * * * The establishment of the principles regarding labor laid down in the covenant of the League of Nations offers us the way to industrial peace and conciliation. * * * The unwilling workman is not a profitable servant. * * *

"Governments must recognize the right of men collectively to bargain for humane objects that have at their base the mutual protection and welfare of those engaged in all industries. Labor must not be longer treated as a commodity. It must be regarded as the activity of human beings, possessed of deep yearnings and desires. * * * The right of labor to live in peace and comfort must be recognized by governments, and America should be the first to lay the foundation-stones upon which industrial peace shall be built.

"Labor not only is entitled to an adequate wage, but capital should receive a reasonable return upon its investment and is entitled to protection at the hands of the Government in every emergency. No government worthy of the name can 'play' these elements against each other, for there is a mutuality of interest

between them which the Government must seek to express and to safeguard at all cost.

"The right of individuals to strike is inviolate and ought not to be interfered with by any process of government, but there is a predominant right, and that is the right of the Government to protect all of its people and to assert its power and majesty against the challenge of any class. * * *

"In the matter of international disputes which have led to war, statesmen have sought to set up as a remedy arbitration for war. * * * Certainly human intelligence can devise some acceptable tribunal for adjusting the differences between capital and labor. * * *

"The instrument of all reform in America is the ballot. The road to economic and social reform in America is the straight road of justice to all classes and conditions of men. Men have but to follow this road to realize the full fruition of their objects and purposes. Let those beware who would take the shorter road of disorder and revolution. The right road is the road of justice and orderly process."

1919. December 9. Issues statement to bituminous coal miners (who had been on strike since November 1, 1919):

" * * * I understand the operators have generally agreed to absorb an increase of 14 per cent in wages, * * * and thus a way is opened to secure the coal of which the people stand in need, if the miners will resume work on these terms pending a thorough investigation by an impartial commission which may readjust both wages and prices. By the acceptance of such a plan the miners are assured immediate steady employment at a substantial increase in wages and are further assured prompt investigation and action upon questions which are not now settled to their satisfaction."

[The proposal was accepted by the miners' leaders on December 10th, and the bituminous coal strike called off.]

1919. December 20. Appoints a commission to investigate the bituminous coal industry and determine the basis for a new wage agreement.

1919. December 24. Issues proclamation relinquishing "from Federal control, effective the 1st day of March, 1920, at 12:01 A.M., all railroads, systems of transportation and property of whatever kind taken or held under such federal control and not heretofore relinquished, and restore the same to the possession and control of their respective owners."

1920. January 8. Writes letter to Chairman of Jackson Day celebration, explaining his attitude as to reservations, stating that he has no objection to interpretative reservations, but strongly objects to reservations which are really nullifications of the Covenant.

[See text in full, Appendix B.]

1920. January 13. Calls first meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, to be held in Paris January 16, 1920.

(See Cable in full, Appendix B.)

1920. January 26. Writes letter to Senator Hitchcock:

"I have greatly appreciated your thoughtful kindness in keeping me informed concerning the conferences you and some of your colleagues have had with spokesmen of the Republican Party concerning the possibility of ratification of the Treaty of Peace. * * *

"I am happy to be able to add * * * that I have once more gone over the reservations proposed by yourself, the copy of which I return herewith, and am glad to say that I can accept them as they stand."

(See letter in full and text of the reservations, Appendix B.)

1920. February 7. Writes Secretary of State Lansing:

"Is it true, as I have been told, that during my illness you have frequently called the heads of the Executive Departments of the Government into conference? If it is, I feel it my duty to call your attention to considerations which I do not care to dwell upon until I learn from you yourself that this is the fact.

"Under our Constitutional Law and practice, as developed hitherto, no one but the President has the right to summon the heads of the Executive Departments into conference, and no one but the President and the Congress has the right to ask their views or the views of any one of them on any public question."

1920. February 9. Secretary Lansing replies:

"It is true that frequently during your illness I requested the heads of the Executive Departments of the Government to meet for informal conference. * * *

"If, however, you think that I have failed in my loyalty to you and if you no longer have confidence in me and prefer to have another conduct our foreign affairs, I am of course ready, Mr. President, to relieve you of any embarrassment by placing my resignation in your hands."

1920. February 11. Writes Secretary of State Lansing:

"I am very much disappointed by your letter of February 9th * * * and must frankly take advantage of your kind suggestion that if I should prefer to have another to conduct our foreign affairs you are ready to relieve me of any embarrassment by placing your resignation in my hands. * * * "

1920. February 12. Secretary of State Lansing replies:

"I wish to thank you sincerely for your candid letter of the 11th, in which you state that my resignation would be acceptable to you, since it relieves me of the responsibility for action which I have been contemplating and which I can now take without hesitation, as it meets your wishes. * * * "

1920. February 13. Writes Secretary of State Lansing:

" * * * I feel it my duty to accept your resignation, to take effect at once; at the same time adding that I hope the future holds for you many successes of the most gratifying sort. * * * "

1920. February 9. Sends cablegram to American Ambassador at Paris:

"The President has carefully considered the joint cablegram addressed to this Government by the French and British Prime Ministers and communicated by the American Ambassador in Paris, in regard to the negotiations on the Adriatic question. The President notes with satisfaction that the French, British and Japanese Governments have never had the intention of proceeding to a definite settlement of this question except in consultation with the American Government. * * *

"The President fully shares the view of the French and British Governments that the future of the world largely depends upon the right solution of this question, but he can not believe that a solution containing provisions which have already received the well-merited condemnation of the French and British Governments can in any sense be regarded as right. * * *

"The President desires to say that if it does not appear feasible to secure acceptance of the just and gener-

ous concessions offered by the British, French and American Governments to Italy in the joint memorandum of those powers of December 9, 1919, which the President has already clearly stated to be the maximum concession that the Government of the United States can offer, the President desires to say that he must take under serious consideration the withdrawal of the treaty with Germany and the agreement between the United States and France of June 28, 1919, which are now before the Senate, and permitting the terms of the European settlement to be independently established and enforced by the Associated Governments."

1920. February 24. France and Great Britain having replied to cablegram of February 9, 1920, saying that they "do not find it altogether easy to understand the steps by which the Government of the United States has arrived at its present attitude,"—sends a second cablegram, further explaining the "steps," submitting certain further considerations, and concluding:

"The President asks that the Prime Ministers of France, Great Britain and Italy will read his determination in the Adriatic matter in the light of these principles and settlements and will realize that standing upon such a foundation of principle he must of necessity maintain the position which he arrived at after months of earnest consideration. He confidently counts upon their coöperation in this effort on his part to maintain for the Allied and Associated Powers that direction of affairs which was initiated by the victory over Germany and the Peace Conference at Paris."

1920. March 4. France and Great Britain having made a joint reply to cablegram of February 24th, sends a third cablegram:

" * * * The President is surprised, however, that

they should find in the statement of his own willingness to leave to the joint agreement of Italy and Jugoslavia the settlement of 'their common frontiers in the Fiume region' any ground for suggesting the withdrawal of the joint memorandum of December 9th. In this he could not possibly join. * * *

"Regarding the character and applicability of the Treaty of London, the President * * * is unable to find in the 'exigencies of military strategy' sufficient warrant for exercising secrecy with a Government which was intimately associated with the signatories of the Treaty of London in the gigantic task of defending human freedom and which was being called upon for unlimited assistance and for untold treasure. The definite and well-accepted policy of the American Government throughout its participation in the deliberations of the Peace Conference was that it did not consider itself bound by secret treaties of which it had previously not known the existence. Where the provisions of such treaties were just and reasonable, the United States was willing to respect them. But the French and British Prime Ministers will of course not expect the Government of the United States to approve the execution of the terms of the Treaty of London, except in so far as that Government may be convinced that those terms are intrinsically just and are consistent with the maintenance of peace and settled order in southeastern Europe. * * *

"In conclusion the President desires to express his concurrence in the view of the British and French Prime Ministers that a speedy settlement of the Adriatic question is of utmost importance. But we can not accept as just the implied suggestion of his responsibility for the failure to reach a solution. He has merely adhered to the provisions of a settlement

which the French and British Governments recognized as equitable in the joint memorandum of December 9th, and has declined to approve a new settlement negotiated without the knowledge or approval of the American Government, which was unacceptable to one of the interested Governments and which in his opinion was in direct contradiction of the principles for the defense of which America entered the war. These views he has fully explained in his note of February 10th, and he ventures to express the earnest hope that the Allied Governments will not find it necessary to decide on a course which the American Government in accordance with its reiterated statement will be unable to follow."

1920. March 8. Writes Senator Hitchcock: "* * * what my views are with reference to Article X of the League of Nations, and the effect upon the League of the adoption of certain proposed reservations to that Article." (See letter in full, Appendix B.)

1920. March 20. Motion made in United States Senate for ratification of the Treaty of Versailles with reservations adopted in the Committee of the Whole: Motion lost. Motion then made by Senator Lodge to return the Treaty to the President: Motion carried. The Treaty therefore failed a second time to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority.

1920. March 24. Sends note through Secretary of State to the French Ambassador at Washington:

"I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note of March 12th relative to the conferences regarding the peace treaty with Turkey and the present status of the negotiations between the principal Allied Powers, and in reply to inform you that the President does not deem it advisable in the present circumstances that the United States be repre-

sented by a plenipotentiary at the conference. The President feels, however, that, as this Government is vitally interested in the future peace of the world, it should frankly express its views on the proposed solutions of the difficult questions connected with the Turkish treaty. * * *

"The Government of the United States understands the strength of the arguments for the retention of the Turks at Constantinople, but believes that the arguments against it are far stronger and contain certain imperative elements which it would not seem possible to ignore. * * *

"The Government of the United States notes with pleasure that provision is made for Russian representation on the International Council, which it is proposed shall be established for the Government of Constantinople and the Straits.

"As for Thrace, it would seem right that that part of east Thrace, which is outside of the zone reserved for Constantinople, should become part of the kingdom of Greece, with the exception of the northern part of that province. As this, the northern part, is clearly Bulgarian in population, justice and fair dealing demand that the cities of Adrianople and Kirk-Kilisseh and the surrounding territory should become part of Bulgaria. * * *

"There can be no question as to the genuine interest of this Government in the plans for Armenia, and the Government of the United States is convinced that the civilized world demands and expects the most liberal treatment for that unfortunate country. * * *

"In regard to the relinquishment by Turkey of her rights to Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria and the islands, this Government suggests that the method resorted to in the case of Austria be adopted, namely,

that Turkey should place these provinces in the hands of the great Powers, to be disposed of as those Powers may determine.

"In regard to the arrangements for Smyrna, this Government is not in a position to express an opinion, as the question is too important to be passed on with the limited information this Government has as to the exact arrangement that is contemplated and the reasons for same. * * *

"Let me say in conclusion that it is the understanding of the Government of the United States that whatever territorial changes or arrangements may be made in the former Ottoman Empire, such changes or arrangements will in no way place American citizens or corporations, or the citizens or corporations of any other country, in a less favorable situation than the citizens or corporations of any power party to this treaty."

1920. April 23. Recognizes Armenia as a *de facto* Government.

1920. April 25. At invitation of Allied Supreme Council, defines the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in four provinces.

1920. May 9. Sends telegram to Oregon Democrats:

"I think it imperative that the party should at once proclaim itself the uncompromising champion of the nation's honor and the advocate of everything that the United States can do in the service of humanity; that it should therefore indorse and support the Versailles Treaty and condemn the Lodge reservations as utterly inconsistent with the nation's honor and destructive of the world leadership which it had established, and which all the free peoples of the world,

including the great Powers themselves, had shown themselves ready to welcome. * * *

"The League of Nations is the hope of the world. As a basis for the armistice I was authorized by all the great fighting nations to say to the enemy that it was our object in proposing peace to establish a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike, and the Covenant of the League of Nations is the deliberate embodiment of that purpose in the Treaty of Peace.

"The chief motives which led us to enter the war will be defeated unless that Covenant is ratified and acted upon with vigor. We cannot in honor whittle it down or weaken it as the Republican leaders of the Senate have proposed to do. * * *

"The Democratic Party has now a great opportunity to which it must measure up. The honor of the nation is in its hands."

1920. May 15 to 19. Rome. First public meeting of the Council of the League of Nations.

President Wilson is asked under Article V of the Covenant to summon first meeting of the Assembly of the League, upon some date between November 1st and 15th.

1920. May 21. Writes letter to anthracite coal operators and miners:

"I have watched with more than passing interest your efforts to negotiate a new wage scale for the anthracite coal fields. The arrangement to continue work at the mines after April 1st, pending the adoption of a new agreement which you entered into when the previous wage scale was about to expire, was highly commendable and filled us all with hope that a

new contract would be mutually worked out and the supply of anthracite coal continued without interruption. I sincerely trust that the hope will be fully realized.

"I have, however, been advised that there is a possibility you may not come to an agreement. * * * A strike at any time in a great basic industry like anthracite coal mining would be a very disturbing factor in our lives and industries. To have one take place now while we are actively engaged in the problems of reconstruction would be a serious disaster. * * *

"I am not familiar with the technical problems affecting the making of your wage scale. You are. You should therefore be able to effect an agreement. If for any reason you are unable to do so, I shall insist that the matters in dispute be submitted to the determination of a commission to be appointed by me, the award of the commission to be retroactive to the 1st of April in accordance with the arrangement you have already entered into, and that work be continued at the mines pending the decision of the commission. I shall hold myself in readiness to appoint a commission similarly constituted to the one which I recently appointed in connection with the bituminous coal mining industry as soon as I learn that both sides have signified their willingness to continue at work and abide by its decision."

1920. May 24. Sends message to Congress:

" * * * In response to the invitation of the Council at San Remo, I urgently advise and request that the Congress grant the Executive power to accept for the United States a mandate over Armenia."

1920. May 27. Sends message to House of Representatives vetoing resolution to declare a state of

peace with Germany and Austria-Hungary. (See text in full, Appendix B.)

[The following day this resolution failed to pass the House over the veto by a vote of 219 for and 152 against—a two-thirds majority being necessary for adoption.]

1920. June 1. By a vote of 23 for and 52 against, the United States Senate "respectfully declines" to grant the power requested in message of May 24, 1920, to establish an American mandate over Armenia.

1920. July 15. Issues formal call for first meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations, on November 15th, at Geneva, Switzerland.

1920. July 30. Addresses letter to the members of the United Mine Workers of America:

"It is with a feeling of profound regret and sorrow that I have learned that many of the members of your organization, particularly in the State of Illinois, have engaged in a strike in violation of the terms of the award of the Bituminous Coal Commission and your agreement with the Government that the findings of the commission would be accepted by you as final and binding. * * *

"The United Mine Workers of America is the largest single labor organization in the United States, if not in the world, but no organization can long endure that sets up its own strength as being superior to its plighted faith or its duty to society at large. * * *

"I must insist that the striking mine workers return to work, thereby demonstrating their good faith in keeping their contract. When I have learned that they have thus returned to work, I will invite the scale committees of the operators and miners to reconvene for the purpose of adjusting any such inequalities as they may mutually agree should be adjusted."

(The president of the United Mine Workers promptly instructed the striking miners to return to work, and the President of the United States thereupon called a meeting of the committees referred to in last paragraph above.)

1920. August 10. Turkey in the Sèvres treaty recognizes Armenia as a free and independent state and agrees to accept President Wilson's award as to boundary. (See Notation, April 25, 1920.)

1920. August 30. Sends message to anthracite coal miners (some of whom were not satisfied with increases of pay awarded by Anthracite Wage Commission):

"Replying to your telegram of August 29 * * * it should be understood that there was no agreement between the operators and miners to have me decide the question at issue. * * * Yet if your communication, declaring your intention to refrain from working unless I set aside the award of the Anthracite Coal Commission on or before September 1, 1920, is intended as a threat you can rest assured that your challenge will be accepted and that the people of the United States will find some substitute fuel to tide them over until the real sentiment of the anthracite mine workers can find expression and they are ready to abide by the obligations they have entered into.

"You are therefore advised that I cannot and will not set aside the judgment of the commission, and I shall expect the anthracite mine workers to accept the award and carry it into effect in good faith."

1920. October 3. Addresses his fellow-countrymen on the issues of the present political campaign. [See text in full, Appendix B.]

1920. October 27. Delivers address to fifteen pro-

League Republicans (men and women) who called upon him:

"My Fellow-Countrymen: It is to be feared that the supreme issue presented for your consideration in the present campaign is growing more obscure rather than clearer by reason of the many arbitrary turns the discussion has taken. The editors and publishers of the country would render a great service if they would publish the full text of the Covenant of the League of Nations, because, having read that text, you would be able to judge for yourselves a great many things in which you are now in danger of being misled. * * *

"It is inconceivable to most of us that any men should have been so false or so heartless as to declare that the women of the country would again have to suffer the intolerable burden and privation of war if the League of Nations were adopted.

"The League of Nations is the well-considered effort of the whole group of nations who were opposed to Germany to secure themselves and the rest of mankind against the repetition of war. * * *

"The great moral influence of the United States will be absolutely thrown away if we do not complete the task which our soldiers and sailors so heroically undertook to execute. * * *

"We have now to choose whether we will make good or quit. * * *

"No one who opposes the ratification of the treaty of Versailles and the adoption of the Covenant of the League of Nations has proposed any other adequate means of bringing about settled peace. There is no other available or possible means, and this means is ready to hand. They have, on the contrary, tried to persuade you that the very pledge contained in Article X, which is the essential pledge of the whole plan of

security, is itself a threat of war. It is, on the contrary, an assurance of the concert of all the free peoples of the world in the future, as in the recent past, to see justice done and humanity protected and vindicated.

"This is the true, the real Americanism. * * *

"This choice is the supreme choice of the present campaign. It is regrettable that this choice should be associated with a party contest. As compared with the choice of a course of action that now underlies every other, the fate of parties is a matter of indifference. Parties are significant now in this contest only because the voters must make up their minds which of the two parties is most likely to secure the indispensable result.

"The nation was never called upon to make a more solemn determination than it must now make. The whole future moral force of right in the world depends upon the United States rather than upon any other nation, and it would be pitiful, indeed, if after so many great free peoples had entered the great league, we should hold aloof.

"I suggest that the candidacy of every candidate for whatever office be tested by this question: Shall we, or shall we not, redeem the great moral obligations of the United States?"

1920. November 15. Monday. At 11 o'clock in the morning all the church bells in Geneva were rung in honor of the first meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations. A procession carrying flags of all nations except the recent enemy States, marched from the City Hall of Geneva to the Hall of the Reformation where the meeting was held.

Mons. Paul Hymans, Belgian member of the Coun-

cil, called the Assembly to order, and was by ballot elected to be its President.

The following message of greetings and good wishes was then cabled to President Wilson:

"The Assembly of the League of Nations has by unanimous vote instructed me to send you its warmest greetings and to express its earnest wishes that you may speedily be restored to complete health. The Assembly recognizes that you have done perhaps more than any other man to lay the foundation of the League. It feels confident that the present meetings will greatly advance those principles of coöperation between all nations which you have done so much to promote."

He replied as follows:

"The greeting so graciously sent me by the Assembly of the League of Nations through you has gratified me very deeply, indeed. I am indeed proud to be considered to have played any part in promoting the concord of nations with the establishment of such an instrumentality as the League, to whose increasing usefulness and success I look forward with perfect confidence. Permit me to extend my personal greetings to the Assembly, if they will be gracious enough to receive them, together with an expression of my hope and belief that their labors will be of immense value to the whole civilized world

"Woodrow Wilson."

1920. November 30. Replies to cabled message from President of the Council of the League of Nations:

"I am without authorization to offer or employ the military forces of the United States in any project for the relief of Armenia. * * * I am willing, however, upon assurances of the moral and diplomatic support

of the principal powers and in a spirit of sympathetic response to the request of the Council of the League of Nations to use my good offices and to proffer my personal mediation through a representative whom I may designate to end the hostilities that are now being waged against the Armenian people and to bring peace and accord to the contending parties, relying upon the Council of the League of Nations to suggest to me the avenues through which my proffer should be conveyed and the parties to whom it should be addressed."

1920. December 7. Communicates eighth annual message to the two Houses of Congress:

" * * * I have not so much laid before you a series of recommendations, gentlemen, as sought to utter a confession of faith, of the faith in which I was bred and which it is my solemn purpose to stand by until my last fighting day. I believe this to be the faith of America, the faith of the future, and of all the victories which await national action in the days to come whether in America or elsewhere." (See text in full, Appendix B.)

1920. December 10. Receives 1920 Nobel Peace award.

(From New York *Times,* December 11, 1920)

WILSON ACCEPTS THE NOBEL AWARD

Formal Presentation to Our Minister Made in Norwegian Storthing

President's Letter Read

He Notes Progress toward Peace while Voicing Humility before Unfinished Tasks

CHRISTIANIA, Norway, Dec. 10.—The distribution of the Nobel Prizes was made here this afternoon.

The principal awards—the peace prizes for 1919 and 1920—were, respectively, to Leon Bourgeois, French member of the commission which drew the League of Nations Covenant, and Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States.

The document presenting the Peace Prize to President Wilson and also the Nobel Medal, was received by Albert G. Schmedeman, the American Minister to Norway, who read a message of thanks from President Wilson.

The text of President Wilson's message, read by Mr. Schmedeman, follows:

"In accepting the honor of your award, I am moved by the recognition of my sincere and earnest efforts in the cause of peace, but also by a very poignant humility before the vastness of the work still called for by this cause.

"May I not take this occasion to express my respect for the far-sighted wisdom of the founder in arranging for a continuing system of awards? If there were but one such prize, or if this were to be the last, I could not, of course, accept it, for mankind has not yet been rid of the unspeakable horror of war.

"I am convinced that our generation has, despite its wounds, made notable progress, but it is the better part of wisdom to consider our work as only begun. It will be a continuing labor. In the definite course of the years before us there will be abundant opportunity for others to distinguish themselves in the crusade against the hate and fear of war.

"There is, indeed, a peculiar fitness in the grouping of the Nobel awards. The cause of peace, and the cause of truth are of one family. Even as those who love science and devote their lives to physics or chemistry, even as those who create new and higher ideals

for mankind in literature, even so with those who love peace, there is no limit set. Whatever has been accomplished in the past is petty compared to the glory of the promise of the future."

The *Aftenposten* and the *Tidens Tegn* devote their first pages to-day to pictures and biographies of President Wilson and M. Bourgeois. The *Aftenposten* says in an editorial:

"It will be told with great joy that President Wilson gets this prize. After disappointment in Versailles he returned home a beaten man, ridiculed by his adversaries and fellow-citizens. By circumstances out of his control he was restrained from promoting his international peace work. As President of the United States he was unable to do anything more, but history will keep memory of him as creator of the League of Nations. To Europe and to great parts of America President Wilson looms as the man of peace who broke with the old doctrines and showed the way toward new ideas. He is, first, and last, the great peace promoter —popular among the victorious and among those beaten."

The *Tidens Tegn* calls the awarding of the prize to President Wilson a great demonstration for the League of Nations, and especially "for its creator," who, the newspaper declares, suffered disappointment as his most precious plans were not accepted by his own nation. "But," it adds, "without President Wilson there would have been no League."

President Buen of the Storthing expressed the delight of the Storthing and of the nation that President Wilson had been chosen as the recipient of one of the peace prizes. He characterized Mr. Wilson as the creator of the League of Nations and thanked him for his efforts to promote international peace.

1921. January 3. Vetoes the bill extending the term of the War Finance Corporation. Congress passed the bill over the veto.

1921. February 6. Refuses to submit the new railway wage controversy to Congress, on the ground that it is within the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Railroad Labor Board.

Sends telegram to union officials and the chairman of the Association of Railway Executives:

"I have carefully considered the several telegrams addressed to me dealing with the labor questions and railroad management now under consideration by the Railroad Labor Board in Chicago. * * *

"It would be manifestly unwise for me, therefore, to take any action which would interfere with the orderly procedure of the Interstate Commerce Commission or of the Railroad Labor Board, and all the matters mentioned in your telegram are within the jurisdiction of one or the other of these bodies; and in their action I think we may repose entire confidence.

"In view of the foregoing, it does not seem wise to comply with your suggestion that the matter be submitted to the Congress, and the only action deemed necessary is to submit copies of the telegrams received from you and from the representatives of the railroad executives to the Interstate Commerce Commission and to the Railroad Labor Board for such action as these bodies may deem wise in the premises. This will be done."

1921. February 22. Communicates special message to the two Houses of Congress, calling attention to an agreement with Belgium made by the British and French Premiers and himself, embodied in the following letters; and recommending that Congress take appropriate action with regard to this agreement:

"June 16, 1919.

"M. Hymans, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Hotel Lotti, Paris:

"Sir—The reparation clauses of the draft treaty of peace with Germany obligate Germany to make reimbursement of all sums which Belgium has borrowed from the Allied and Associated Governments up to November 11, 1918, on account of the violation by Germany of the Treaty of 1829. As evidence of such an obligation Germany is to make a special issue of bonds to be delivered to the Reparations Commission.

"Each of the undersigned will recommend to the appropriate governmental agency of his Government that, upon the delivery to the Reparations Commission of such bonds, his Government accept an amount thereof corresponding to the sums which Belgium has borrowed from his Government since the war and up to November 11, 1918, together with interest at 5 per cent, unless already included in such sums, in satisfaction of Belgium's obligation on account of such loans, which obligation of Belgium shall thereupon be canceled.

"We are, dear Mr. Minister,

"Very truly yours,

"G. Clemenceau,
"Woodrow Wilson,
"D. Lloyd George."

1921. March 3. Communicates last message to House of Representatives—a veto of the so-called "Emergency Tariff Bill":

"I return herewith, without my approval, H.R. 15,275, an act imposing temporary duties upon certain agricultural products to meet present emergencies, to provide revenues and for other purposes." (See text in full, Appendix B.)

1921. March 4. Second term as President of the United States expires at noon. Leaves the White House at eleven A.M. and rides with President-elect Harding to the Capitol. Signs last acts passed by the 66th Congress. Shortly after noon drives directly to his new home at 2340 S Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

1921. November 11. Pays tribute to Unknown Soldier, riding in funeral procession from United States Capitol.

Many of his friends called on him during the day, and in the afternoon a large crowd of admirers (estimated at several thousand) gathered in the street outside his residence to pay him tribute.

1922. January 15. Delivers a short address to crowd which had come to his residence from a meeting of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation in Washington, D. C.

1922. November 11. Delivers address to crowd assembled in front of his residence:

" * * * The future is in our hands and if we are not equal to it, the shame will be ours and none other.

"I thank you from a very full heart, my friends, for this demonstration of kindness by you and bid you and the nation Godspeed."

1923. August 8. Accompanies body of President Harding from the White House to the Capitol.

1923. August. Contributes article to the *Atlantic Monthly* entitled "The Road Away from Revolution."

1923. November 10. Delivers address over radio on the eve of Armistice Day:

"The Significance of Armistice Day"

"The anniversary of Armistice Day should stir us to a great exaltation of spirit, because of the proud recol-

lection that it was our precept and example which had, by those early days of that never-to-be-forgotten November, lifted the nations of the world to the lofty levels of vision and achievement upon which the great war for democracy and right was fought and won; although the stimulating memories of that happy time of triumph are forever marred and embittered for us by the shameful fact that when the victory was won—chiefly by the indomitable spirit and ungrudging sacrifice of our incomparable soldiers—we turned our backs on our associates; refused to bear any responsible part in the administration of peace or the firm and permanent establishment of the results won by the war at so fearful a cost of life and treasure; and withdrew into a sullen and selfish isolation which is deeply ignoble because manifestly dishonorable.

"This must always be a source of deep mortification to us and we shall inevitably be forced by the moral obligations of freedom and honor to retrieve that fatal error and assume once more the rôle of courage, self-respect and helpfulness which every true American must wish to regard as our natural part in the affairs of the world.

"That we should thus have done a great wrong to civilization at one of the most critical turning points in the history of the world is the more to be deplored because every anxious year that has followed has made the exceeding need for such services as we might have rendered more and more evident and more and more pressing, as demoralizing circumstances which we might have controlled have gone from bad to worse.

"And now, as if to furnish a sort of sinister climax, France and Italy between them have made waste-paper of the Treaty of Versailles and the whole field of international relationships is in perilous confusion.

"The affairs of the world can be set straight only by the firmest and most determined exhibition of the will to lead and make the right prevail.

"Happily the present situation in the world of affairs affords us the opportunity to retrieve the past and to render mankind the inestimable service of proving that there is at least one great and powerful nation which can turn away from programs of self-interest and devote itself to practicing and establishing the highest ideals of disinterested service and the consistent maintenance of exalted standards of conscience and of right.

"The only way in which we can worthily give proof of our appreciation of the high significance of Armistice Day is by resolving to put self-interest away and once more formulate and act upon the highest ideals and purposes of international policy.

"Thus, and only thus, can we return to the true traditions of America."

1923. November 11. An enormous crowd gathered around Mr. Wilson's house on Armistice Day. He delivered a short address calling attention of the American people to the ideals they are turning away from, concluding:

"I am deeply touched and honored by this extraordinary exhibition of your friendship and confidence; and yet I can say without affectation that I wish you would transfer your homage from me to the men who made the armistice possible. * * *

"I am not one of those that have the least anxiety about the triumph of the principles I have stood for. That we shall prevail is as sure as that God reigns."

1924. January 6. Sends telegram to Joseph F. Guffey to be read at Jackson Day celebration held in Pittsburgh, Pa., January 7th:

"Please give my warmest salutations and greetings to those who will assemble for the Jackson Day dinner. They are to be congratulated on representing the party to which must be entrusted the redemption of the Nation from the degradation of purpose into which it has in recent days been drawn. An aggressive fight for the establishment of high principles and just action will restore the prestige of our nation as nothing else could, and I shall be glad to take part in so distinguished a service. Pray accept my warm personal regard."

1924. January 16. Receives members of the National Democratic Committee at his residence.

1924. January 31. Suffers a collapse, and it becomes evident the end is near.

1924. February 3, Sunday, 11:15 A.M. Woodrow Wilson died. Outside his house there were great crowds of people kneeling in the street and praying for him.

1924. February 6, Wednesday. Woodrow Wilson was buried in Bethlehem Chapel of the Washington Cathedral. The road from his house to the Cathedral was filled with thousands and thousands of people mourning his death.

"The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined;—for the Government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Prince of Peace.

And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding, Counsel and Might, Knowledge, Righteousness and Faithfulness.

And he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears, but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth.

And his rest shall be glorious."

ISAIAH, IX-XI.

© *The National Cathedral Ass'n.* *Photo by Underwood & Underwood*

"I AM THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE, SAITH THE LORD"

Inscription Carved in the Canopy Over the Tomb of Woodrow Wilson, Bethlehem Chapel, Washington, D. C.

The three flags shown on the preceding page above the tomb of Woodrow Wilson are the first American flags ever saluted by an English King, and the first and second Presidential flags.

This American flag was carried by our troops as they marched through London on their way to the front. King George V reviewed these troops, and saluted this flag. It was sent to President Wilson by General Pershing.

The other two flags are the only insignia given by the United States Government to those who serve as President, one for the first term of office, and another for the second.

Festus.

"He lived too much advanced before his brother men;
They kept him still in front; 'twas for their good,
But yet a dangerous station. . . .
So God shall take thee to His breast, dear spirit,
Unto His breast, be sure! and here on earth
Shall splendor sit upon thy name forever.
Sun! all the heaven is glad for thee; what care
If lower mountains light their snowy phares
At thine effulgence, yet acknowledge not
The Source of day? Their theft shall be their bale,
For after ages shall retrack thy beams,
And put aside the crowd of busy ones
And worship thee alone, the master-mind,
The thinker, the explorer, the creator!
Then who shall sneer at the convulsive throes
With which thy deeds were born would scorn as well
The sheet of winding subterraneous fire
Which, pent and writhing, sends no less at last
Huge islands up amid the simmering sea.
Behold thy might in me! thou hast infused
Thy soul in mine; and I am grand as thou,
Seeing I comprehend thee, I so simple,
Thou so august. I recognize thee first;
I saw thee rise; I watched thee early and late;
And though no glance reveal thou dost accept
My homage,—thus no less I proffer it,
And bid thee enter gloriously thy rest."

"Paracelsus"—Browning.

"And so he received the grandest of all sepulchres, not that in which his mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where his glory remains fresh to stir to speech or to action as the occasion comes by. For the sepulchre of famous men is the whole earth; and their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives."

"Funeral Oration of Pericles"—THUCYDIDES.

APPENDIX A

Degrees Conferred upon Woodrow Wilson

Year	*Conferred by*	*Degree*
1879	Princeton University	Bachelor of Arts
1882	Princeton University	Master of Arts
1886	Johns Hopkins University	Doctor of Philosophy
1887	Wake Forest College	Doctor of Laws
1898	Tulane University	Doctor of Laws
1901	Yale University	Doctor of Letters
1902	Johns Hopkins University	Doctor of Laws
1902	Rutgers College	Doctor of Laws
1903	University of Pennsylvania	Doctor of Laws
1903	Brown University	Doctor of Laws
1907	Harvard University	Doctor of Laws
1908	Williams College	Doctor of Laws
1909	Dartmouth College	Doctor of Laws
1910	Princeton University	Doctor of Laws
1917	University of Bologna	Doctor Honoris Causa
1918	Ursinus College	Doctor of Laws
1918	University of Paris	Honorary Doctorate
1918	Cracovia University	Honorary Doctorate
1918	University of Cuzco	Doctor of Political Science
1918	University of Cambridge	Doctor of Laws (*in absentia*)
1918	Lincoln Memorial University	Doctor of Laws
1918	Royal Institute of Superior Studies, Florence	Doctor Honoris Causa
1918	University of Genoa	Doctor Honoris Causa
1919	University of Prague	Doctor of Laws
1919	University of Athens	Doctor of Laws
1919	University of Cracow	Doctor of Laws

1919	University of Geneva	Doctor of Laws
1919	University of Louvain	Doctor of Laws
1919	University of Paris	Doctor of Laws
1919	University of Turin	Honorary Doctorate
1920	University of Sorbonne	Honorary Doctorate
1920	University of Georgia	Doctor of Laws
1921	University of Warsaw	Doctor of Laws

In 1919 the University of Oxford indicated a desire to confer a degree upon Mr. Wilson, but this was never done because of the fact that pressure of public business prevented his being present in person and delivering the requisite address.

There are also records of two other degrees (one from the University of Virginia and the other from Wesleyan College) offered to him and which, for the same reasons, he could not accept.

The Nobel peace prize was awarded to him in 1920, and many "general" honors conferred upon him—such as honorary citizenships, freedom of cities, honorary military orders, etc. A complete list of these honors is not available at this time (June, 1927).

APPENDIX B

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

March 4, 1913

My Fellow-Citizens:

There has been a change of Government. It began two years ago, when the House of Representatives became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has now been completed. The Senate about to assemble will also be Democratic. The offices of President and Vice-President have been put into the hands of Democrats. What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds to-day. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order, if I may, to interpret the occasion.

It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the nation now seeks to use the Democratic Party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things

long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men. It is great, also, very great, in its moral force.

Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate suffering, and set the weak in the way of strength and hope. We have built up, moreover, a great system of Government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and accident. Our life contains every great thing, and contains it in rich abundance.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has

fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great Government went many deep secret things which we, too, long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it. There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been "Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves. We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great.

We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so

proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; watercourses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen or as individuals.

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice.

There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

These are some of the things we ought to do, and not leave the others undone, the old-fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right. This is the high enterprise of the new day: To lift everything that concerns our life as a nation to the light that shines from the hearth-fire of every man's conscience and vision of the right. It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans; it is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind haste. We shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they can not tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto.

And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals

lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!

THE TARIFF

First Special Address to Congress Asking Immediate Revision of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, April 8, 1913

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I am very glad indeed to have this opportunity to address the two Houses directly and to verify for myself the impression that the President of the United States is a person, not a mere department of the Government hailing Congress from some isolated

island of jealous power, sending messages, not speaking naturally and with his own voice—that he is a human being trying to coöperate with other human beings in a common service. After this pleasant experience I shall feel quite normal in all our dealings with one another.

I have called the Congress together in extraordinary session because a duty was laid upon the party now in power at the recent elections which it ought to perform promptly, in order that the burden carried by the people under existing law may be lightened as soon as possible, and in order, also, that the business interests of the country may not be kept too long in suspense as to what the fiscal changes are to be to which they will be required to adjust themselves. It is clear to the whole country that the tariff duties must be altered. They must be changed to meet the radical alteration in the conditions of our economic life which the country has witnessed within the last generation. While the whole face and method of our industrial and commercial life were being changed beyond recognition the tariff schedules have remained what they were before the change began, or have moved in the direction they were given when no large circumstance of our industrial development was what it is to-day. Our task is to square them with the actual facts. The sooner that is done the sooner we shall escape from suffering from the facts and the sooner our men of business will be free to thrive by the law of nature—the nature of free business—instead of by the law of legislation and artificial arrangement.

We have seen tariff legislation wander very far afield in our day—very far indeed from the field in which our prosperity might have had a normal growth

and stimulation. No one who looks the facts squarely in the face or knows anything that lies beneath the surface of action can fail to perceive the principles upon which recent tariff legislation has been based. We long ago passed beyond the modest notion of "protecting" the industries of the country and moved boldly forward to the idea that they were entitled to the direct patronage of the Government. For a long time—a time so long that the men now active in public policy hardly remember the conditions that preceded it—we have sought in our tariff schedules to give each group of manufacturers or producers what they themselves thought that they needed in order to maintain a practically exclusive market as against the rest of the world. Consciously or unconsciously we have built up a set of privileges and exemptions from competition behind which it was easy by any, even the crudest, forms of combination to organize monopoly; until at last nothing is normal, nothing is obliged to stand the tests of efficiency and economy, in our world of big business, but everything thrives by concerted arrangement. Only new principles of action will save us from a final hard crystallization of monopoly and a complete loss of the influences that quicken enterprise and keep independent energy alive.

It is plain what those principles must be. We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our business men and producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical and enterprising, masters of competitive supremacy, better workers and merchants than any in the world. Aside from the duties laid upon articles which we do not, and probably can not, produce, therefore, and the duties laid upon luxuries and merely for the sake

of the revenues they yield, the object of the tariff duties henceforth laid must be effective competition, the whetting of American wits by contest with the wits of the rest of the world.

It would be unwise to move toward this end headlong, with reckless haste, or with strokes that cut at the very roots of what has grown up amongst us by long process and at our own invitation. It does not alter a thing to upset it and break it and deprive it of a chance to change. It destroys it. We must make changes in our fiscal laws, in our fiscal system, whose object is development, a more free and wholesome development, not revolution or upset or confusion. We must build up trade, especially foreign trade. We need the outlet and the enlarged field of energy more than we ever did before. We must build up industry as well, and must adopt freedom in the place of artificial stimulation only so far as it will build, not pull down. In dealing with the tariff the method by which this may be done will be a matter of judgment exercised item by item. To some not accustomed to the excitements and responsibilities of greater freedom our methods may in some respects and at some points seem heroic, but remedies may be heroic and yet be remedies. It is our business to make sure that they are genuine remedies. Our object is clear. If our motive is above just challenge and only an occasional error of judgment is chargeable against us, we shall be fortunate.

We are called upon to render the country a great service in more matters than one. Our responsibility should be met and our methods should be thorough, as thorough as moderate and well considered, based upon the facts as they are, and not worked out as if

we were beginners. We are to deal with the facts of our own day, with the facts of no other, and to make laws which square with those facts. It is best, indeed it is necessary, to begin with the tariff. I will urge nothing upon you now at the opening of your session which can obscure that first object or divert our energies from that clearly defined duty. At a later time I may take the liberty of calling your attention to reforms which should press close upon the heels of the tariff changes, if not accompany them, of which the chief is the reform of our banking and currency laws; but just now I refrain. For the present, I put these matters on one side and think only of this one thing—of the changes in our fiscal system which may best serve to open once more the free channels of prosperity to a great people whom we would serve to the utmost and throughout both rank and file.

I sincerely thank you for your courtesy.

PANAMA CANAL TOLLS

Address to Congress on Panama Canal Tolls
March 5, 1914

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have come to you upon an errand which can be very briefly performed, but I beg that you will not measure its importance by the number of sentences in which I state it. No communication I have addressed to the Congress carried with it graver or more far-reaching implications as to the interest of the country, and I come now to speak upon a matter with regard to which I am charged in a peculiar degree, by the Constitution itself, with personal responsibility.

I have come to ask you for the repeal of that provision of the Panama Canal Act of August 24, 1912, which exempts vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States from payment of tolls, and to urge upon you the justice, the wisdom, and the large policy of such a repeal with the utmost earnestness of which I am capable.

In my own judgment, very fully considered and maturely formed, that exemption constitutes a mistaken economic policy from every point of view, and is, moreover, in plain contravention of the treaty with Great Britain concerning the canal concluded on November 18, 1901. But I have not come to urge upon you my personal views. I have come to state to you a fact and a situation. Whatever may be our own differences of opinion concerning this much debated measure, its meaning is not debated outside the United States. Everywhere else the language of the treaty is given but one interpretation, and that interpretation precludes the exemption I am asking you to repeal.

We consented to the treaty; its language we accepted, if we did not originate it; and we are too big, too powerful, too self-respecting a nation to interpret with a too strained or refined reading the words of our own promises just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please. The large thing to do is the only thing we can afford to do, a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned and misunderstood. We ought to reverse our action without raising the question whether we were right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and for the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation.

I ask this of you in support of the foreign policy of the administration. I shall not know how to deal

with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence if you do not grant it to me in ungrudging measure.

UNION OF SPIRIT BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH

ADDRESS IN MEMORY OF THE CONFEDERATE DEAD, DELIVERED AT ARLINGTON JUNE 4, 1914. FROM WHITE HOUSE FILES

I assure you that I am profoundly aware of the solemn significance of the thing that has now taken place. The Daughters of the Confederacy have presented a memorial of their dead to the Government of the United States. I hope that you have noted the history of the conception of this idea. It was suggested by a President of the United States who had himself been a distinguished officer in the Union Army. It was authorized by an act of Congress of the United States. The corner stone of the monument was laid by a President of the United States elevated to his position by the votes of the party which had chiefly prided itself upon sustaining the war for the Union, and who, while Secretary of War, had himself given authority to erect it. And, now, it has fallen to my lot to accept in the name of the great Government, which I am privileged for the time to represent, this emblem of a reunited people. I am not so much happy as proud to participate in this capacity on such an occasion—proud that I should represent such a people. Am I mistaken, ladies and gentlemen, in supposing that nothing of this sort could have occurred in anything but a democracy? The people of a democracy are not

related to their rulers as subjects are related to a government. They are themselves the sovereign authority, and as they are neighbors of each other, quickened by the same influences and moved by the same motives, they can understand each other. They are shot through with some of the deepest and profoundest instincts of human sympathy. They choose their governments; they select their rulers; they live their own life, and they will not have that life disturbed and discolored by fraternal misunderstandings. I know that a reuniting of spirits like this can take place more quickly in our time than in any other because men are now united by an easier transmission of those influences which make up the foundations of peace and of mutual understanding, but no process can work these effects unless there is a conducting medium. The conducting medium in this instance is the united heart of a great people. I am not going to detain you by trying to repeat any of the eloquent thoughts which have moved us this afternoon, for I rejoice in the simplicity of the task which is assigned to me. My privilege is this, ladies and gentlemen: To declare this chapter in the history of the United States closed and ended, and I bid you turn with me with your faces to the future, quickened by the memories of the past, but with nothing to do with the contests of the past, knowing, as we have shed our blood upon opposite sides, we now face and admire one another. I do not know how many years ago it was that the Century Dictionary was published, but I remember one day in the Century Cyclopedia of Names I had occasion to turn to the name of Robert E. Lee, and I found him there in that book published in New York City simply described as a great American general. The generosity of our judgments did not begin to-day. The generosity of our judgment was made

up soon after this great struggle was over. Men came and sat together again in the Congress and united in all the efforts of peace and of government, and our solemn duty is to see that each one of us is in his own consciousness and in his own conduct a replica of this great reunited people. It is our duty and our privilege to be like the country we represent and, speaking no word of malice, no word of criticism even, stand shoulder to shoulder to lift the burdens of mankind in the future and show the paths of freedom to all the world.

AMERICAN NEUTRALITY—AN APPEAL BY THE PRESIDENT

PRESENTED IN THE SENATE, AUGUST 19, 1914

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:

I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself, during these last troubled weeks, what influence the European war may exert upon the United States, and I take the liberty of addressing a few words to you in order to point out that it is entirely within our own choice what its effects upon us will be and to urge very earnestly upon you the sort of speech and conduct which will best safeguard the Nation against distress and disaster.

The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The spirit of the Nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and

society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspapers and magazines contain, upon what ministers utter in their pulpits, and men proclaim as their opinions on the street.

The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility, responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its Government should unite them as Americans all, bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinion, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion if not in action.

Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

I venture, therefore, my fellow-countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try

men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a Nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action; a Nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraints which will bring to our people the happiness and the great and lasting influence for peace we covet for them?

ACCEPTING RENOMINATION AS PRESIDENT

Address, September 2, 1916

I cannot accept the leadership and responsibility which the National Democratic Convention has again, in such generous fashion, asked me to accept without first expressing my profound gratitude to the party for the trust it reposes in me after four years of fiery trial in the midst of affairs of unprecedented difficulty, and the keen sense of added responsibility with which

this honor fills (I had almost said burdens) me as I think of the great issues of national life and policy involved in the present and immediate future conduct of our Government. I shall seek, as I have always sought, to justify the extraordinary confidence thus reposed in me by striving to purge my heart and purpose of every personal and of every misleading party motive and devoting every energy I have to the service of the nation as a whole, praying that I may continue to have the counsel and support of all forward-looking men at every turn of the difficult business.

For I do not doubt that the people of the United States will wish the Democratic Party to continue in control of the Government. They are not in the habit of rejecting those who have actually served them for those who are making doubtful and conjectural promises of service. Least of all are they likely to substitute those who promised to render them particular services and proved false to that promise for those who have actually rendered those very services.

Boasting is always an empty business, which pleases nobody but the boaster, and I have no disposition to boast of what the Democratic Party has accomplished. It has merely done its duty. It has merely fulfilled its explicit promises. But there can be no violation of good taste in calling attention to the manner in which those promises have been carried out or in adverting to the interesting fact that many of the things accomplished were what the opposition party had again and again promised to do but had left undone. Indeed that is manifestly part of the business of this year of reckoning and assessment. There is no means of judging the future except by assessing the past. Constructive action must be weighed against destructive comment and reaction. The Democrats either have

or have not understood the varied interests of the country. The test is contained in the record.

What is that record? What were the Democrats called into power to do? What things had long waited to be done, and how did the Democrats do them? It is a record of extraordinary length and variety, rich in elements of many kinds, but consistent in principle throughout and susceptible of brief recital.

The Republican party was put out of power because of failure, practical failure and moral failure; because it had served special interests and not the country at large; because, under the leadership of its preferred and established guides, of those who still make its choices, it had lost touch with the thoughts and needs of the nation and was living in a past age and under a fixed illusion, the illusion of greatness. It had framed tariff laws based upon a fear of foreign trade, a fundamental doubt as to American skill, enterprise, and capacity, and a very tender regard for the profitable privileges of those who had gained control of domestic markets and domestic credits; and yet had enacted anti-trust laws which hampered the very things they meant to foster, which were stiff and inelastic, and in part unintelligible. It had permitted the country throughout the long period of its control to stagger from one financial crisis to another under the operation of a national banking law of its own framing which made stringency and panic certain and the control of the larger business operations of the country by the bankers of a few reserve centers inevitable; had made as if it meant to reform the law but had faint-heartedly failed in the attempt, because it could not bring itself to do the one thing necessary to make the reform genuine and effectual, namely, break up the control of small groups of bankers. It had been oblivious, or

indifferent, to the fact that the farmers, upon whom the country depends for its food and in the last analysis for its prosperity, were without standing in the matter of commercial credit, without the protection of standards in their market transactions, and without systematic knowledge of the markets themselves; that the laborers of the country, the great army of men who man the industries it was professing to father and promote, carried their labor as a mere commodity to market, were subject to restraint by novel and drastic process in the courts, were without assurance of compensation for industrial accidents, without federal assistance in accommodating labor disputes, and without national aid or advice in finding the places and the industries in which their labor was most needed. The country had no national system of road construction and development. Little intelligent attention was paid to the army, and not enough to the navy. The other republics of America distrusted us, because they found that we thought first of the profits of American investors and only as an afterthought of impartial justice and helpful friendship. Its policy was provincial in all things; its purposes were out of harmony with the temper and purpose of the people and the timely development of the nation's interests.

So things stood when the Democratic Party came into power. How do they stand now? Alike in the domestic field and in the wide field of the commerce of the world, American business and life and industry have been set free to move as they never moved before.

The tariff has been revised, not on the principle of repelling foreign trade, but upon the principle of encouraging it, upon something like a footing of equality with our own in respect of the terms of competition, and a Tariff Board has been created whose function it

will be to keep the relations of American with foreign business and industry under constant observation, for the guidance alike of our business men and of our Congress. American energies are now directed toward the markets of the world.

The laws against trusts have been clarified by definition, with a view to making it plain that they were not directed against big business but only against unfair business and the pretense of competition where there was none; and a Trade Commission has been created with powers of guidance and accommodation which have relieved business men of unfounded fears and set them upon the road of hopeful and confident enterprise.

By the Federal Reserve Act the supply of currency at the disposal of active business has been rendered elastic, taking its volume, not from a fixed body of investment securities, but from the liquid assets of daily trade; and these assets are assessed and accepted not by distant groups of bankers in control of unavailable reserves, but by bankers at the many centers of local exchange who are in touch with local conditions everywhere.

Effective measures have been taken for the re-creation of an American merchant marine and the revival of the American carrying trade indispensable to our emancipation from the control which foreigners have so long exercised over the opportunities, the routes, and the methods of our commerce with other countries.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has been reorganized to enable it to perform its great and important functions more promptly and more efficiently. We have created, extended and improved the service of the parcels post.

So much we have done for business. What other

party has understood the task so well or executed it so intelligently and energetically? What other party has attempted it at all? The Republican leaders, apparently, know of no means of assisting business but "protection." How to stimulate it and put it upon a new footing of energy and enterprise they have not suggested.

For the farmers of the country we have virtually created commercial credit, by means of the Federal Reserve Act and the Rural Credits Act. They now have the standing of other business men in the money market. We have successfully regulated speculation in "futures" and established standards in the marketing of grains. By an intelligent Warehouse Act we have assisted to make the standard crops available as never before both for systematic marketing and as a security for loans from the banks. We have greatly added to the work of neighborhood demonstration on the farm itself of improved methods of cultivation, and, through the intelligent extension of the functions of the Department of Agriculture, have made it possible for the farmer to learn systematically where his best markets are and how to get at them.

The workingmen of America have been given a veritable emancipation, by the legal recognition of a man's labor as part of his life, and not a mere marketable commodity; by exempting labor organizations from processes of the courts which treated their members like fractional parts of mobs and not like accessible and responsible individuals; by releasing our seamen from involuntary servitude; by making adequate provision for compensation for industrial accidents; by providing suitable machinery for mediation and conciliation in industrial disputes; and by putting

the Federal Department of Labor at the disposal of the workingman when in search of work.

We have effected the emancipation of the children of the country by releasing them from hurtful labor. We have instituted a system of national aid in the building of highroads such as the country has been feeling after for a century. We have sought to equalize taxation by means of an equitable income tax. We have taken the steps that ought to have been taken at the outset to open up the resources of Alaska. We have provided for national defense upon a scale never before seriously proposed upon the responsibility of an entire political party. We have driven the tariff lobby from cover and obliged it to substitute solid argument for private influence.

This extraordinary recital must sound like a platform, a list of sanguine promises; but it is not. It is a record of promises made four years ago and now actually redeemed in constructive legislation.

These things must profoundly disturb the thoughts and confound the plans of those who have made themselves believe that the Democratic Party neither understood nor was ready to assist the business of the country in the great enterprises which it is its evident and inevitable destiny to undertake and carry through. The breaking up of the lobby must especially disconcert them; for it was through the lobby that they sought and were sure they had found the heart of things. The game of privilege can be played successfully by no other means.

This record must equally astonish those who feared that the Democratic Party had not opened its heart to comprehend the demands of social justice. We have in four years come very near to carrying out the plat-

form of the Progressive Party as well as our own; for we also are progressives.

There is one circumstance connected with this program which ought to be very plainly stated. It was resisted at every step by the interests which the Republican Party had catered to and fostered at the expense of the country, and these same interests are now earnestly praying for a reaction which will save their privileges—for the restoration of their sworn friends to power before it is too late to recover what they have lost. They fought with particular desperation and infinite resourcefulness the reform of the banking and currency system, knowing that to be the citadel of their control; and most anxiously are they hoping and planning for the amendment of the Federal Reserve Act by the concentration of control in a single bank which the old familiar group of bankers can keep under their eye and direction. But while the "big men" who used to write the tariffs and command the assistance of the Treasury have been hostile—all but a few with vision—the average business man knows that he has been delivered, and that the fear that was once every day in his heart that the men who controlled credit and directed enterprise from the committee rooms of Congress would crush him, is there no more, and will not return—unless the party that consulted only the "big men" should return to power—the party of masterly inactivity and cunning resourcefulness in standing pat to resist change.

The Republican Party is just the party that cannot meet the new conditions of a new age. It does not know the way and it does not wish new conditions. It tried to break away from the old leaders and could not. They still select its candidates and dictate its policy, still resist change, still hanker after the old conditions,

still know no methods of encouraging business but the old methods. When it changes its leaders and its purposes and brings its ideas up to date it will have the right to ask the American people to give it power again; but not until then. A new age, an age of revolutionary change, needs new purposes and new ideas.

In foreign affairs we have been guided by principles clearly conceived and consistently lived up to. Perhaps they have not been fully comprehended because they have hitherto governed international affairs only in theory, not in practice. They are simple, obvious, easily stated, and fundamental to American ideals.

We have been neutral not only because it was the fixed and traditional policy of the United States to stand aloof from the politics of Europe and because we had had no part either of action or of policy in the influences which brought on the present war, but also because it was manifestly our duty to prevent, if it were possible, the indefinite extension of the fires of hate and desolation kindled by that terrible conflict and seek to serve mankind by reserving our strength and our resources for the anxious and difficult days of restoration and healing which must follow, when peace will have to build its house anew.

The rights of our own citizens of course became involved: that was inevitable. Where they did, this was our guiding principle: that property rights can be vindicated by claims for damages when the war is over, and no modern nation can decline to arbitrate such claims; but the fundamental rights of humanity cannot be. The loss of life is irreparable. Neither can direct violations of a nation's sovereignty await vindication in suits for damages. The nation that violates these essential rights must expect to be checked and called to account by direct challenge and resistance. It at

once makes the quarrel in part our own. These are plain principles and we have never lost sight of them or departed from them, whatever the stress or the perplexity of circumstance or the provocation to hasty resentment. The record is clear and consistent throughout and stands distinct and definite for any one to judge who wishes to know the truth about it.

The seas were not broad enough to keep the infection of the conflict out of our own politics. The passions and intrigues of certain active groups and combinations of men amongst us who were born under foreign flags injected the poison of disloyalty into our own most critical affairs, laid violent hands upon many of our industries, and subjected us to the shame of divisions of sentiment and purpose in which America was contemned and forgotten. It is part of the business of this year of reckoning and settlement to speak plainly and act with unmistakable purpose in rebuke of these things, in order that they may be forever hereafter impossible. I am the candidate of a party, but I am above all things else an American citizen. I neither seek the favor nor fear the displeasure of that small alien element amongst us which puts loyalty to any foreign power before loyalty to the United States.

While Europe was at war our own continent, one of our own neighbors, was shaken by revolution. In that matter, too, principle was plain and it was imperative that we should live up to it if we were to deserve the trust of any real partisan of the right as free men see it. We have professed to believe, and we do believe, that the people of small and weak states have the right to expect to be dealt with exactly as the people of big and powerful states would be. We have acted upon that principle in dealing with the people of Mexico.

Our recent pursuit of bandits into Mexican territory was no violation of that principle. We ventured to enter Mexican territory only because there were no military forces in Mexico that could protect our border from hostile attack and our own people from violence, and we have committed there no single act of hostility or interference even with the sovereign authority of the Republic of Mexico herself. It was a plain case of the violation of our own sovereignty which could not wait to be vindicated by damages and for which there was no other remedy. The authorities of Mexico were powerless to prevent it.

Many serious wrongs against the property, many irreparable wrongs against the persons, of Americans have been committed within the territory of Mexico herself during this confused revolution, wrongs which could not be effectually checked so long as there was no constituted power in Mexico which was in a position to check them. We could not act directly in that matter ourselves without denying Mexicans the right to any revolution at all which disturbed us and making the emancipation of her own people await our own interest and convenience.

For it is their emancipation that they are seeking—blindly, it may be, and as yet ineffectually, but with profound and passionate purpose and within their unquestionable right, apply what true American principle you will—any principle that an American would publicly avow. The people of Mexico have not been suffered to own their own country or direct their own institutions. Outsiders, men out of other nations and with interests too often alien to their own, have dictated what their privileges and opportunities should be and who should control their land, their lives, and their resources—some of them Americans, pressing for things

they could never have got in their own country. The Mexican people are entitled to attempt their liberty from such influences; and so long as I have anything to do with the action of our great Government I shall do everything in my power to prevent any one standing in their way. I know that this is hard for some persons to understand; but it is not hard for the plain people of the United States to understand. It is hard doctrine only for those who wish to get something for themselves out of Mexico. There are men, and noble women, too, not a few, of our own people, thank God! whose fortunes are invested in great properties in Mexico who yet see the case with true vision and assess its issues with true American feeling. The rest can be left for the present out of the reckoning until this enslaved people has had its day of struggle toward the light. I have heard no one who was free from such influences propose interference by the United States with the internal affairs of Mexico. Certainly no friend of the Mexican people has proposed it.

The people of the United States are capable of great sympathies and a noble pity in dealing with problems of this kind. As their spokesman and representative, I have tried to act in the spirit they would wish me to show. The people of Mexico are striving for the rights that are fundamental to life and happiness—fifteen million oppressed men, overburdened women, and pitiful children in virtual bondage in their own home of fertile lands and inexhaustible treasure! Some of the leaders of the revolution may often have been mistaken and violent and selfish, but the revolution itself was inevitable and is right. The unspeakable Huerta betrayed the very comrades he served, traitorously overthrew the Government of which he was a trusted part, impudently spoke for the very forces that

had driven his people to the rebellion with which he had pretended to sympathize. The men who overcame him and drove him out represent at least the fierce passion of reconstruction which lies at the very heart of liberty; and so long as they represent, however imperfectly, such a struggle for deliverance, I am ready to serve their ends when I can. So long as the power of recognition rests with me the Government of the United States will refuse to extend the hand of welcome to any one who obtains power in a sister republic by treachery and violence. No permanency can be given the affairs of any republic by a title based upon intrigue and assassination. I declared that to be the policy of this Administration within three weeks after I assumed the Presidency. I here again vow it. I am more interested in the fortunes of oppressed men and pitiful women and children than in any property rights whatever. Mistakes I have no doubt made in this perplexing business, but not in purpose or object.

More is involved than the immediate destinies of Mexico and the relations of the United States with a distressed and distracted people. All America looks on. Test is now being made of us whether we be sincere lovers of popular liberty or not and are indeed to be trusted to respect national sovereignty among our weaker neighbors. We have undertaken these many years to play big brother to the republics of this hemisphere. This is the day of our test whether we mean, or have ever meant, to play that part for our own benefit wholly or also for theirs. Upon the outcome of that test (its outcome in their minds, not in ours) depends every relationship of the United States with Latin America, whether in politics or in commerce and enterprise. These are great issues and lie at the heart of the gravest tasks of the future, tasks both

economic and political and very intimately inwrought with many of the most vital of the new issues of the politics of the world. The republics of America have in the last three years been drawing together in a new spirit of accommodation, mutual understanding and cordial coöperation. Much of the politics of the world in the years to come will depend upon their relationships with one another. It is a barren and provincial statesmanship that loses sight of such things!

The future, the immediate future, will bring us squarely face to face with many great and exacting problems which will search us through and through whether we be able and ready to play the part in the world that we mean to play. It will not bring us into their presence slowly, gently, with ceremonious introduction, but suddenly and at once, the moment the war in Europe is over. They will be new problems, most of them; many will be old problems in a new setting and with new elements which we have never dealt with or reckoned the force and meaning of before. They will require for their solution new thinking, fresh courage and resourcefulness, and in some matters radical reconsiderations of policy. We must be ready to mobilize our resources alike of brains and of materials.

It is not a future to be afraid of. It is rather a future to stimulate and excite us to the display of the best powers that are in us. We may enter it with confidence when we are sure that we understand it—and we have provided ourselves already with the means of understanding it.

Look first at what it will be necessary that the nations of the world should do to make the days to come tolerable and fit to live and work in; and then look at our part in what is to follow and our own

duty of preparation. For we must be prepared both in resources and in policy.

There must be a just and settled peace, and we here in America must contribute the full force of our enthusiasm and of our authority as a nation to the organization of that peace upon world-wide foundations that cannot easily be shaken. No nation should be forced to take sides in any quarrel in which its own honor and integrity and the fortunes of its own people are not involved; but no nation can any longer remain neutral as against any willful disturbance of the peace of the world. The effects of war can no longer be confined to the areas of battle. No nation stands wholly apart in interest when the life and interests of all nations are thrown into confusion and peril. If hopeful and generous enterprise is to be renewed, if the healing and helpful arts of life are indeed to be revived when peace comes again, a new atmosphere of justice and friendship must be generated by means the world has never tried before. The nations of the world must unite in joint guarantees that whatever is done to disturb the whole world's life must first be tested in the court of the whole world's opinion before it is attempted.

These are the new foundations the world must build for itself, and we must play our part in the reconstruction, generously and without too much thought of our separate interests. We must make ourselves ready to play it intelligently, vigorously and well.

One of the contributions we must make to the world's peace is this: We must see to it that the people in our insular possessions are treated in their own lands as we would treat them here, and make the rule of the United States mean the same thing

everywhere—the same justice, the same consideration for the essential rights of men.

Besides contributing our ungrudging moral and practical support to the establishment of peace throughout the world we must actively and intelligently prepare ourselves to do our full service in the trade and industry which are to sustain and develop the life of the nations in the days to come.

We have already been provident in this great matter and supplied ourselves with the instrumentalities of prompt adjustment. We have created, in the Federal Trade Commission, a means of inquiry and of accommodation in the field of commerce which ought both to coördinate the enterprises of our traders and manufacturers and to remove the barriers of misunderstanding and of a too technical interpretation of the law. In the new Tariff Commission we have added another instrumentality of observation and adjustment which promises to be immediately serviceable. The Trade Commission substitutes counsel and accommodation for the harsher processes of legal restraint, and the Tariff Commission ought to substitute facts for prejudices and theories. Our exporters have for some time had the advantage of working in the new light thrown upon foreign markets and opportunities of trade by the intelligent inquiries and activities of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce which the Democratic Congress so wisely created in 1912. The Tariff Commission completes the machinery by which we shall be enabled to open up our legislative policy to the facts as they develop.

We can no longer indulge our traditional provincialism. We are to play a leading part in the world drama whether we wish it or not. We shall lend, not borrow; act for ourselves, not imitate or follow; or-

ganize and initiate, not peep about merely to see where we may get in.

We have already formulated and agreed upon a policy of law which will explicitly remove the ban now supposed to rest upon coöperation amongst our exporters in seeking and securing their proper place in the markets of the world. The field will be free, the instrumentalities at hand. It will only remain for the masters of enterprise amongst us to act in energetic concert, and for the Government of the United States to insist upon the maintenance throughout the world of those conditions of fairness and of even-handed justice in the commercial dealings of the nations with one another upon which, after all, in the last analysis, the peace and ordered life of the world must ultimately depend.

At home also we must see to it that the men who plan and develop and direct our business enterprises shall enjoy definite and settled conditions of law, a policy accommodated to the freest progress. We have set the just and necessary limits. We have put all kinds of unfair competition under the ban and penalty of the law. We have barred monopoly. These fatal and ugly things being excluded, we must now quicken action and facilitate enterprise by every just means within our choice. There will be peace in the business world, and, with peace, revived confidence and life.

We ought both to husband and to develop our natural resources, our mines, our forests, our water power. I wish we could have made more progress than we have made in this vital matter; and I call once more, with the deepest earnestness and solicitude, upon the advocates of a careful and provident conservation, on the one hand, and the advocates of a free and inviting field for private capital, on the other, to get

together in a spirit of genuine accommodation and agreement and set this great policy forward at once.

We must hearten and quicken the spirit and efficiency of labor throughout our whole industrial system by everywhere and in all occupations doing justice to the laborer, not only by paying a living wage but also by making all the conditions that surround labor what they ought to be. And we must do more than justice. We must safeguard life and promote health and safety in every occupation in which they are threatened or imperiled. That is more than justice, and better, because it is humanity and economy.

We must coördinate the railway systems of the country for national use, and must facilitate and promote their development with a view to that coördination and to their better adaptation as a whole to the life and trade and defense of the nation. The life and industry of the country can be free and unhampered only if these arteries are open, efficient and complete.

Thus shall we stand ready to meet the future as circumstance and international policy effect their unfolding, whether the changes come slowly or come fast and without preface.

I have not spoken explicitly, gentlemen, of the platform adopted at St. Louis; but it has been implicit in all that I have said. I have sought to interpret its spirit and meaning. The people of the United States do not need to be assured now that the platform is a definite pledge, a practical program. We have proved to them that our promises are made to be kept.

We hold very definite ideals. We believe that the energy and initiative of our people have been too narrowly coached and superintended; that they should be set free, as we have set them free, to disperse themselves throughout the nation; that they should not be

concentrated in the hands of a few powerful guides and guardians, as our opponents have again and again, in effect if not in purpose, sought to concentrate them. We believe, moreover—who that looks about him now with comprehending eye can fail to believe?—that the day of Little Americanism, with its narrow horizons, when methods of "protection" and industrial nursing were the chief study of our provincial statesmen, are past and gone and that a day of enterprise has at last dawned for the United States whose field is the wide world.

We hope to see the stimulus of that new day draw all America, the republics of both continents, on to a new life and energy and initiative in the great affairs of peace. We are Americans for Big America, and rejoice to look forward to the days in which America shall strive to stir the world without irritating it or drawing it on to new antagonisms, when the nations with which we deal shall at last come to see upon what deep foundations of humanity and justice our passion for peace rests, and when all mankind shall look upon our great people with a new sentiment of admiration, friendly rivalry and real affection, as upon a people who, though keen to succeed, seeks always to be at once generous and just and to whom humanity is dearer than profit or selfish power.

Upon this record and in the faith of this purpose we go to the country.

ADDRESS TO THE COUNTRY, March 4, 1917

The termination of the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress by constitutional limitation disclosed a situation unparalleled in the history of the country,

perhaps unparalleled in the history of any modern Government. In the immediate presence of a crisis fraught with more subtle and far-reaching possibilities of national danger than any other the Government has known within the whole history of its international relations, the Congress has been unable to act either to safeguard the country or to vindicate the elementary rights of its citizens. More than five hundred of the five hundred and thirty-one members of the two Houses were ready and anxious to act; the House of Representatives had acted by an overwhelming majority; but the Senate was unable to act because a little group of eleven Senators had determined that it should not.

The Senate has no rules by which debate can be limited or brought to an end, no rules by which dilatory tactics of any kind can be prevented. A single member can stand in the way of action, if he have but the physical endurance. The result in this case is a complete paralysis alike of the legislative and of the executive branches of the Government.

This inability of the Senate to act has rendered some of the most necessary legislation of the session impossible at a time when the need of it was most pressing and most evident. The bill which would have permitted such combinations of capital and of organization in the export and import trade of the country as the circumstances of international competition have made imperative—a bill which the business judgment of the whole country approved and demanded—has failed. The opposition of one or two Senators has made it impossible to increase the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission to give it the altered organization necessary for its efficiency. The Conservation bill, which should have released for immediate use the mineral resources which

are still locked up in the public lands, now that their release is more imperatively necessary than ever, and the bill which would have made the unused water power of the country immediately available for industry have both failed, though they have been under consideration throughout the sessions of two Congresses and have been twice passed by the House of Representatives. The appropriations for the army have failed, along with the appropriations for the civil establishment of the Government, the appropriations for the Military Academy at West Point and the General Deficiency bill. It has proved impossible to extend the powers of the Shipping Board to meet the special needs of the new situations into which our commerce has been forced or to increase the gold reserve of our national banking system to meet the unusual circumstances of the existing financial situation.

It would not cure the difficulty to call the Sixty-fifth Congress in extraordinary session. The paralysis of the Senate would remain. The purpose and the spirit of action are not lacking now. The Congress is more definitely united in thought and purpose at this moment, I venture to say, than it has been within the memory of any men now in its membership. There is not only the most united patriotic purpose, but the objects members have in view are perfectly clear and definite. But the Senate cannot act unless its leaders can obtain unanimous consent. Its majority is powerless, helpless. In the midst of a crisis of extraordinary peril, when only definite and decided action can make the nation safe or shield it from war itself by the aggression of others, action is impossible.

Although as a matter of fact the Nation and the representatives of the Nation stand back of the Executive with unprecedented unanimity and spirit, the im-

pression made abroad will, of course, be that it is not so and that other Governments may act as they please without fear that this Government can do anything at all. We cannot explain. The explanation is incredible. The Senate of the United States is the only legislative body in the world which cannot act when its majority is ready for action. A little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible.

The remedy? There is but one remedy. The only remedy is that the rules of the Senate shall be so altered that it can act. The country can be relied upon to draw the moral. I believe that the Senate can be relied on to supply the means of action and save the country from disaster.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

March 5, 1917

My Fellow-Citizens:

The four years which have elapsed since last I stood in this place have been crowded with counsel and action of the most vital interest and consequence. Perhaps no equal period in our history has been so fruitful of important reforms in our economic and industrial life or so full of significant changes in the spirit and purpose of our political action. We have sought very thoughtfully to set our house in order, correct the grosser errors and abuses of our industrial life, liberate and quicken the processes of our national genius and energy, and lift our politics to a broader view of the people's essential interests. It is a record of singular

variety and singular distinction. But I shall not attempt to review it. It speaks for itself and will be of increasing influence as the years go by. This is not the time for retrospect. It is time, rather, to speak our thoughts and purposes concerning the present and the immediate future.

Although we have centered counsel and action with such unusual concentration and success upon the great problems of domestic legislation to which we addressed ourselves four years ago, other matters have more and more forced themselves upon our attention, matters lying outside our own life as a nation and over which we had no control, but which, despite our wish to keep free of them, have drawn us more and more irresistibly into their own current and influence.

It has been impossible to avoid them. They have affected the life of the whole world. They have shaken men everywhere with a passion and an apprehension they never knew before. It has been hard to preserve calm counsel while the thought of our own people swayed this way and that under their influence. We are a composite and cosmopolitan people. We are of the blood of all the nations that are at war. The currents of our thoughts as well as the currents of our trade run quick at all seasons back and forth between us and them. The war inevitably set its mark from the first alike upon our minds, our industries, our commerce, our politics and our social action. To be indifferent to it or independent of it was out of the question.

And yet all the while we have been conscious that we were not part of it. In that consciousness, despite many divisions, we have drawn closer together. We have been deeply wronged upon the seas, but we have not wished to wrong or injure in return; have retained

throughout the consciousness of standing in some sort apart, intent upon an interest that transcended the immediate issues of the war itself. As some of the injuries done us have become intolerable we have still been clear that we wished nothing for ourselves that we were not ready to demand for all mankind—fair dealing, justice, the freedom to live and be at ease against organized wrong.

It is in this spirit and with this thought that we have grown more and more aware, more and more certain that the part we wished to play was the part of those who mean to vindicate and fortify peace. We have been obliged to arm ourselves to make good our claim to a certain minimum of right and of freedom of action. We stand firm in armed neutrality since it seems that in no other way can we demonstrate what it is we insist upon and can not forego. We may even be drawn on, by circumstances, not by our own purpose or desire, to a more active assertion of our rights as we see them and a more immediate association with the great struggle itself. But nothing will alter our thought or our purpose. They are too clear to be obscured. They are too deeply rooted in the principles of our national life to be altered. We desire neither conquest nor advantage. We wish nothing that can be had only at the cost of another people. We have always professed unselfish purpose and we covet the opportunity to prove that our professions are sincere.

There are many things still to do at home, to clarify our own politics and give new vitality to the industrial processes of our own life, and we shall do them as time and opportunity serve; but we realize that the greatest things that remain to be done must be done with the whole world for stage and in coöperation with the wide and universal forces of mankind, and we are

making our spirits ready for those things. They will follow in the immediate wake of the war itself and will set civilization up again. We are provincials no longer. The tragical events of the thirty months of vital turmoil through which we have just passed have made us citizens of the world. There can be no turning back. Our own fortunes as a nation are involved, whether we would have it so or not.

And yet we are not the less Americans on that account. We shall be the more American if we but remain true to the principles in which we have been bred. They are not the principles of a province or of a single continent. We have known and boasted all along that they were the principles of a liberated mankind. These, therefore, are the things we shall stand for, whether in war or in peace:

That all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equally responsible for their maintenance;

That the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right or privilege;

That peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power;

That Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed and that no other powers should be supported by the common thought, purpose or power of the family of nations;

That the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples, under rules set up by common agreement and consent, and that, so far as practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms;

That national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety;

That the community of interest and of power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon

each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceeding from its own citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other states should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented.

I need not argue these principles to you, my fellow-countrymen: they are your own, part and parcel of your own thinking and your own motive in affairs. They spring up native amongst us. Upon this as a platform of purpose and of action we can stand together.

And it is imperative that we should stand together. We are being forged into a new unity amidst the fires that now blaze throughout the world. In their ardent heat we shall in God's providence, let us hope, be purged of faction and division, purified of the errant humors of party and of private interest, and shall stand forth in the days to come with a new dignity of national pride and spirit. Let each man see to it that the dedication is in his own heart, the high purpose of the nation in his own mind, ruler of his own will and desire.

I stand here and have taken the high and solemn oath to which you have been audience because the people of the United States have chosen me for this august delegation of power and have by their gracious judgment named me their leader in affairs. I know now what the task means. I realize to the full the responsibility which it involves. I pray God I may be given the wisdom and the prudence to do my duty in the true spirit of this great people. I am their servant and can succeed only as they sustain and guide me by their confidence and their counsel. The thing I shall count upon, the thing without which neither counsel nor action will avail, is the unity of America—an America united in feeling, in purpose and in its

vision of duty, of opportunity, and of service. We are to beware of all men who would turn the tasks and the necessities of the Nation to their own private profit or use them for the building up of private power; beware that no faction or disloyal intrigue break the harmony or embarrass the spirit of our people; beware that our Government be kept pure and incorrupt in all its parts. United alike in the conception of our duty and in the high resolve to perform it in the face of all men, let us dedicate ourselves to the great task to which we must now set our hand. For myself I beg your tolerance, your countenance, and your united aid. The shadows that now lie dark upon our path will soon be dispelled and we shall walk with the light all about us if we be but true to ourselves—to ourselves as we have wished to be known in the counsels of the world and in the thought of all those who love liberty and justice and the right exalted.

WAR MESSAGE

Delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, April 2, 1917

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the 3rd of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the 1st day of

February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war; but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft, in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk, and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed.

The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board—the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself, and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any Government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded.

This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity, and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world.

I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be.

The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There

has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation.

We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge, or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms; our right to use the seas against unlawful interference; our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all.

The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be.

Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents.

There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making—we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be, in fact, nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the Governments now at war with Germany; and, as incident to that, the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may, so far as possible, be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the

materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation. I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field, and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them.

I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22d of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3d of February and on the 26th of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles.

Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of the autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances.

We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be

insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow-men as pawns or tools.

Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions.

Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic Government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles

who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia?

Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude toward life.

The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their native majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of council, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce.

Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not

a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States.

Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them, we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors, the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world.

We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the Nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of

the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty.

We have no selfish end to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the Governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified indorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for

the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people and shall desire nothing so much as the early reëstablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live among us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose.

If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with

with a firm hand of stern repression; but if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance, except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts —for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

April 16, 1917

My Fellow-Countrymen:

The entrance of our own beloved country into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights

which has shaken the world creates so many problems of national life and action which call for immediate consideration and settlement that I hope you will permit me to address to you a few words of earnest counsel and appeal with regard to them.

We are rapidly putting our navy upon an effective war footing and are about to create and equip a great army, but these are the simplest parts of the great task to which we have addressed ourselves. There is not a single selfish element, so far as I can see, in the cause we are fighting for. We are fighting for what we believe and wish to be the rights of mankind and for the future peace and security of the world. To do this great thing worthily and successfully we must devote ourselves to the service without regard to profit or material advantage and with an energy and intelligence that will rise to the level of the enterprise itself. We must realize to the full how great the task is and how many things, how many kinds and elements of capacity and service and self-sacrifice, it involves.

These, then, are the things we must do, and do well, besides fighting—the things without which mere fighting would be fruitless:

We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen not only, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting;

We must supply ships by the hundreds out of our shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea, submarines or no submarines, what will every day be needed there, and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea but also to clothe and support our people for whom the

gallant fellows under arms can no longer work, to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are co-operating in Europe, and to keep the looms and manufactories there in raw material; coal to keep the fires going in ships at sea and in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea; steel out of which to make arms and ammunition both here and there; rails for worn-out railways back of the fighting fronts; locomotives and rolling stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces; mules, horses, cattle for labor and for military service; everything with which the people of England and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves but can not now afford the men, the materials or the machinery to make.

It is evident to every thinking man that our industries, on the farms, in the shipyards, in the mines, in the factories, must be made more prolific and more efficient than ever and that they must be more economically managed and better adapted to the particular requirements of our task than they have been; and what I want to say is that the men and the women who devote their thought and their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battlefield or in the trenches. The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great international, Service Army—a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the nation and the world, the efficient friends and saviors of free men everywhere. Thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, of men otherwise liable to military service will of right and of necessity be excused from that service and assigned to the fundamental, sustaining work of the

fields and factories and mines, and they will be as much part of the great patriotic forces of the nation as the men under fire.

I take the liberty, therefore, of addressing this word to the farmers of the country and to all who work on the farms: The supreme need of our own nation and of the nations with which we are coöperating is an abundance of supplies, and especially of foodstuffs. The importance of an adequate food supply, especially for the present year, is superlative. Without abundant food, alike for the armies and the peoples now at war, the whole great enterprise upon which we have embarked will break down and fail. The world's food reserves are low. Not only during the present emergency but for some time after peace shall have come both our own people and a large proportion of the people of Europe must rely upon the harvests in America. Upon the farmers of this country, therefore, in large measure, rests the fate of the war and the fate of the nations. May the nation not count upon them to omit no step that will increase the production of their land or that will bring about the most effectual coöperation in the sale and distribution of their products? The time is short. It is of the most imperative importance that everything possible be done and done immediately to make sure of large harvests. I call upon young men and old alike and upon the able-bodied boys of the land to accept and act upon this duty—to turn in hosts to the farms and make certain that no pains and no labor are lacking in this great matter.

I particularly appeal to the farmers of the South to plant abundant foodstuffs as well as cotton. They can show their patriotism in no better or more convincing way than by resisting the great temptation of

the present price of cotton and helping, helping upon a great scale, to feed the nation and the peoples everywhere who are fighting for their liberties and for our own. The variety of their crops will be the visible measure of their comprehension of their national duty.

The Government of the United States and the governments of the several States stand ready to cooperate. They will do everything possible to assist farmers in securing an adequate supply of seed, an adequate force of laborers when they are most needed, at harvest time, and the means of expediting shipments of fertilizers and farm machinery, as well as of the crops themselves when harvested. The course of trade shall be as unhampered as it is possible to make it and there shall be no unwarranted manipulation of the nation's food supply by those who handle it on its way to the consumer. This is our opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency of a great Democracy and we shall not fall short of it!

This let me say to the middlemen of every sort, whether they are handling our foodstuffs or our raw materials of manufacture or the products of our mills and factories: The eyes of the country will be especially upon you. This is your opportunity for signal service, efficient and disinterested. The country expects you, as it expects all others, to forego unusual profits, to organize and expedite shipments of supplies of every kind, but especially of food, with an eye to the service you are rendering and in the spirit of those who enlist in the ranks, for their people, not for themselves. I shall confidently expect you to deserve and win the confidence of people of every sort and station.

To the men who run the railways of the country, whether they be managers or operative employees, let

me say that the railways are the arteries of the nation's life and that upon them rests the immense responsibility of seeing to it that those arteries suffer no obstruction of any kind, no inefficiency or slackened power. To the merchant let me suggest the motto, "Small profits and quick service"; and to the shipbuilder the thought that the life of the war depends upon him. The food and the war supplies must be carried across the seas no matter how many ships are sent to the bottom. The places of those that go down must be supplied and supplied at once. To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does; the work of the world waits on him. If he slackens or fails, armies and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great Service Army. The manufacturer does not need to be told, I hope, that the nation looks to him to speed and perfect every process; and I want only to remind his employees that their service is absolutely indispensable and is counted on by every man who loves the country and its liberties.

Let me suggest, also, that everyone who creates or cultivates a garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the feeding of the nations; and that every housewife who practices strict economy puts herself in the ranks of those who serve the nation. This is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance. Let every man and every woman assume the duty of careful, provident use and expenditure as a public duty, as a dictate of patriotism which no one can now expect ever to be excused or forgiven for ignoring.

In the hope that this statement of the needs of the Nation and of the world in this hour of supreme crisis may stimulate those to whom it comes and remind all

who need reminder of the solemn duties of a time such as the world has never seen before, I beg that all editors and publishers everywhere will give as prominent publication and as wide circulation as possible to this appeal. I venture to suggest, also, to all advertising agencies that they would perhaps render a very substantial and timely service to the country if they would give it widespread repetition. And I hope that clergymen will not think the theme of it an unworthy or inappropriate subject of comment and homily from their pulpits.

The supreme test of the nation has come. We must all speak, act and serve together!

WOODROW WILSON.

THE BIBLE

LETTER TO THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF THE UNITED STATES, AUGUST, 1917

The Bible is the word of life. I beg that you will read it and find this out for yourselves—read, not little snatches here and there, but long passages that will really be the road to the heart of it. You will find it full of real men and women not only, but also of things you have wondered about and been troubled about all your life, as men have been always; and the more you read the more it will become plain to you what things are worth while and what are not, what things make men happy—loyalty, right dealings, speaking the truth, readiness to give everything for what they think their duty, and, most of all, the wish that they may have the real approval of the Christ, who gave everything for them—and the things that are guaranteed to make men unhappy—selfishness, cowardice, greed, and everything

that is low and mean. When you have read the Bible you will know that it is the Word of God, because you will have found it the key to your own heart, your own happiness, and your own duty.

WOODROW WILSON.

REPLY TO THE POPE'S PEACE PROPOSALS

AUGUST 27, 1917

TO HIS HOLINESS BENEDICTUS XV, POPE:

In acknowledgment of the communication of Your Holiness to the belligerent peoples, dated August 1, 1917, the President of the United States requests me to transmit the following reply:

Every heart that has not been blinded and hardened by this terrible war must be touched by this moving appeal of His Holiness the Pope, must feel the dignity and force of the humane and generous motives which prompted it, and must fervently wish that we might take the path of peace he so persuasively points out. But it would be folly to take it if it does not in fact lead to the goal he proposes. Our response must be based upon the stern facts and upon nothing else. It is not a mere cessation of arms he desires; it is a stable and enduring peace. This agony must not be gone through with again, and it must be a matter of very sober judgment what will insure us against it.

His Holiness in substance proposes that we return to the *status quo ante bellum,* and that then there be a general condonation, disarmament and a concert of nations based upon an acceptance of the principle of arbitration; that by a similar concert freedom of the seas be established; and that the territorial claims of

France and Italy, the perplexing problems of the Balkan States, and the restitution of Poland be left to such conciliatory adjustments as may be possible in the new temper of such a peace, due regard being paid to the aspirations of the peoples whose political fortunes and affiliations will be involved.

It is manifest that no part of this program can be successfully carried out unless the restitution of the *status quo ante* furnishes a firm and satisfactory basis for it. The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world. This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.

To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by His Holiness the Pope would, so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of its strength and a renewal of its policy; would make it necessary to

create a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments; and would result in abandoning the new-born Russia to the intrigue, the manifold subtle interference and the certain counter-revolution which would be attempted by all the malign influences to which the German Government has of late accustomed the world. Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honor it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation?

Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury. The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of Governments—the rights of peoples great or small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people of course included if they will accept equality and not seek domination.

The test, therefore, of every plan of peace is this: Is it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved or merely upon the word of an ambitious and intriguing government, on the one hand, and of a group of free peoples on the other? This is a test which goes to the root of the matter; and it is the test which must be applied.

The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world, to every people to whom the truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people—rather a vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong. Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

We can not take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure, unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting. Without such guarantees treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants to set up arbitration in the place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitutions of small nations, if made with the German Government, no man, no nation could now depend on. We must await some new evidence of the purposes of the great peoples of the Central Powers. God grant it may be given soon and in a way to restore the confidence of all peoples everywhere in the faith of nations and the possibility of a covenanted peace.

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State of the United States of America.

MESSAGE TO THE NATIONAL ARMY

THE WHITE HOUSE, SEPTEMBER 3, 1917

TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE NATIONAL ARMY:

You are undertaking a great duty. The heart of the whole country is with you.

Everything that you do will be watched with the deepest interest and with the deepest solicitude, not only by those who are near and dear to you, but by the whole nation besides. For this great war draws us all together, makes us all comrades and brothers, as all true Americans felt themselves to be when we first made good our national independence.

The eyes of all the world will be upon you, because you are in some special sense the soldiers of freedom. Let it be your pride, therefore, to show all men everywhere not only what good soldiers you are, but also what good men you are, keeping yourselves fit and straight in everything and pure and clean through and through.

Let us set for ourselves a standard so high that it will be a glory to live up to it, and then let us live up to it and add a new laurel to the crown of America.

My affectionate confidence goes with you in every battle and every test. God keep and guide you!

WOODROW WILSON.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

BUFFALO, N. Y., NOVEMBER 12, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT, DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I esteem it a great privilege and a real honor to be thus admitted to your public counsels. When your

executive committee paid me the compliment of inviting me here, I gladly accepted the invitation because it seems to me that this, above all other times in our history, is the time for common counsel, for the drawing together not only of the energies but of the minds of the nation. I thought that it was a welcome opportunity for disclosing to you some of the thoughts that have been gathering in my mind during the last momentous months.

I am introduced to you as the President of the United States, and yet I would be pleased if you would put the thought of the office into the background and regard me as one of your fellow-citizens who has come here to speak, not the words of authority, but the words of counsel; the words which men should speak to one another who wish to be frank in a moment more critical perhaps than the history of the world has ever yet known; a moment when it is every man's duty to forget himself, to forget his own interests, to fill himself with the nobility of a great national and world conception, and act upon a new platform elevated above the ordinary affairs of life and lifted to where men have views of the long destiny of mankind. I think that in order to realize just what this moment of counsel is it is very desirable that we should remind ourselves just how this war came about and just what it is for. You can explain most wars very simply, but the explanation of this is not so simple. Its roots run deep into all the obscure soils of history, and in my view this is the last decisive issue between the old principle of power and the new principle of freedom.

The war was started by Germany. Her authorities deny that they started it, but I am willing to let the statement I have just made await the verdict of history. And the thing that needs to be explained is why

Germany started the war. Remember what the position of Germany in the world was—as enviable a position as any nation has ever occupied. The whole world stood in admiration of her wonderful intellectual and material achievements. All the intellectual men of the world went to school to her. As a university man I have been surrounded by men trained in Germany, men who had resorted to Germany because nowhere else could they get such thorough and searching training, particularly in the principles of science and the principles that underlie modern material achievement. Her men of science had made her industries perhaps the most competent industries of the world, and the label "Made in Germany" was a guarantee of good workmanship and of sound material. She had access to all the markets of the world, and every other nation who traded in those markets feared Germany because of her effective and almost irresistible competition. She had a "place in the sun."

Why was she not satisfied? What more did she want? There was nothing in the world of peace that she did not already have and have in abundance. We boast of the extraordinary pace of American advancement. We show with pride the statistics of the increase of our industries and of the population of our cities. Well, those statistics did not match the recent statistics of Germany. Her old cities took on youth, and grew faster than any American cities ever grew. Her old industries opened their eyes and saw a new world and went out for its conquest. And yet the authorities of Germany were not satisfied. You have one part of the answer to the question why she was not satisfied in her methods of competition. There is no important industry in Germany upon which the Government has not laid its hands, to direct it and, when ne-

cessity arose, control it; and you have only to ask any man whom you meet who is familiar with the conditions that prevailed before the war in the matter of national competition to find out the methods of competition which the German manufacturers and exporters used under the patronage and support of the Government of Germany. You will find that they were the same sorts of competition that we have tried to prevent by law within our own borders. If they could not sell their goods cheaper than we could sell ours at a profit to themselves they could get a subsidy from the Government which made it possible to sell them cheaper anyhow, and the conditions of competition were thus controlled in large measure by the German Government itself.

But that did not satisfy the German Government. All the while there was lying behind its thought in its dreams of the future a political control which would enable it in the long run to dominate the labor and the industry of the world. They were not content with success by superior achievement; they wanted success by authority. I suppose very few of you have thought much about the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway. The Berlin-Bagdad Railway was constructed in order to run the threat of force down the flank of the industrial undertakings of half a dozen other countries; so that when German competition came in it would not be resisted too far, because there was always the possibility of getting German armies into the heart of that country quicker than any other armies could be got there.

Look at the map of Europe now! Germany in thrusting upon us again and again the discussion of peace talks about what? Talks about Belgium; talks about northern France; talks about Alsace-Lorraine.

Well, those are deeply interesting subjects to us and to them, but they are not the heart of the matter. Take the map and look at it. Germany has absolute control of Austria-Hungary, practical control of the Balkan states, control of Turkey, control of Asia Minor. I saw a map in which the whole thing was printed in appropriate black the other day, and the black stretched all the way from Hamburg to Bagdad —the bulk of German power inserted into the heart of the world. If she can keep that, she has kept all that her dreams contemplated when the war began. If she can keep that, her power can disturb the world as long as she keeps it, always provided—for I feel bound to put this proviso in—always provided the present influences that control the German Government continue to control it. I believe that the spirit of freedom can get into the hearts of Germans and find as fine a welcome there as it can find in any other hearts, but the spirit of freedom does not suit the plans of the Pan-Germans. Power cannot be used with concentrated force against free peoples if it is used by free people.

You know how many intimations come to us from one of the Central Powers that it is more anxious for peace than the chief Central Power, and you know that it means that the people in that Central Power know that if the war ends as it stands they will in effect themselves be vassals of Germany, notwithstanding that their populations are compounded of all the peoples of that part of the world, and notwithstanding the fact that they do not wish in their pride and proper spirit of nationality to be so absorbed and dominated. Germany is determined that the political power of the world shall belong to her. There have been such ambitions before. They have been in part

realized, but never before have those ambitions been based upon so exact and precise and scientific a plan of domination.

May I not say that it is amazing to me that any group of persons should be so ill-informed as to suppose, as some groups in Russia apparently suppose, that any reforms planned in the interest of the people can live in the presence of a Germany powerful enough to undermine or overthrow them by intrigue or force? Any body of free men that compounds with the present German Government is compounding for its own destruction. But that is not the whole of the story. Any man in America or anywhere else that supposes that the free industry and enterprise of the world can continue if the Pan-German plan is achieved and German power fastened upon the world is as fatuous as the dreamers in Russia. What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists, but their stupidity. My heart is with them, but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace, but I know how to get it, and they do not.

You will notice that I sent a friend of mine, Col. House, to Europe, who is as great a lover of peace as any man in the world, but I didn't send him on a peace mission yet. I sent him to take part in a conference as to how the war was to be won, and he knows, as I know, that that is the way to get peace if you want it for more than a few minutes.

All of this is a preface to the conference that I have referred to with regard to what we are going to do. If we are true friends of freedom, our own or anybody else's, we will see that the power of this country and the productivity of this country is raised to its absolute maximum, and that absolutely nobody is allowed to stand in the way of it. When I say that nobody is allowed to stand in the way I do not

mean that they shall be prevented by the power of the Government but by the power of the American spirit. Our duty, if we are to do this great thing and show America to be what we believe her to be—the greatest hope and energy of the world—is to stand together night and day until the job is finished.

While we are fighting for freedom we must see, among other things, that labor is free, and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous by the war, but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of labor are improved are not blocked or checked. That we must do. That has been the matter about which I have taken pleasure in conferring from time to time with your president, Mr. Gompers; and if I may be permitted to do so, I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision, and his statesmanlike sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in corral.

Now, to stand together means that nobody must interrupt the processes of our energy if the interruption can possibly be avoided without the absolute invasion of freedom. To put it concretely, that means this: Nobody has a right to stop the processes of labor until all the methods of conciliation and settlement have been exhausted. And I might as well say right here that I am not talking to you alone. You sometimes stop the courses of labor, but there are others who do the same, and I believe that I am speaking from my own experience not only, but from the experience of others when I say that you are reasonable in a

larger number of cases than the capitalists. I am not saying these things to them personally yet, because I have not had a chance, but they have to be said, not in any spirit of criticism, but in order to clear the atmosphere and come down to business. Everybody on both sides has now got to transact business, and a settlement is never impossible when both sides want to do the square and right thing.

Moreover, a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. I can differ from a man much more radically when he is not in the room than I can when he is in the room, because then the awkward thing is he can come back at me and answer what I say. It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor entirely to himself. Therefore, we must insist in every instance that the parties come into each other's presence and there discuss the issues between them and not separately in places which have no communication with each other. I always like to remind myself of a delightful saying of an Englishman of the past generation, Charles Lamb. He stuttered a little bit, and once when he was with a group of friends he spoke very harshly of some man who was not present. One of his friends said: "Why, Charles, I didn't know that you knew so-and-so." "O-o-oh," he said, "I-I d-d-don't; I-I can't h-h-hate a m-m-man I-I know." There is a great deal of human nature, of very pleasant human nature, in the saying. It is hard to hate a man you know. I may admit, parenthetically, that there are some politicians whose methods I do not at all believe in, but they are jolly good fellows, and if they only would not talk the wrong kind of politics to me, I would love to be with them.

So it is all along the line, in serious matters and

things less serious. We are all of the same clay and spirit, and we can get together if we desire to get together. Therefore, my counsel to you is this: Let us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to coöperate with all other classes and all other groups in the common enterprise which is to release the spirits of the world from bondage. I would be willing to set that up as the final test of an American. That is the meaning of democracy. I have been very much distressed, my fellow-citizens, by some of the things that have happened recently. The mob spirit is displaying itself here and there in this country. I have no sympathy with what some men are saying, but I have no sympathy with the men who take their punishment into their own hands; and I want to say to every man who does join such a mob that I do not recognize him as worthy of the free institutions of the United States. There are some organizations in this country whose object is anarchy and the destruction of law, but I would not meet their efforts by making myself partner in destroying the law. I despise and hate their purposes as much as any man, but I respect the ancient processes of justice; and I would be too proud not to see them done justice, however wrong they are.

So I want to utter my earnest protest against any manifestation of the spirit of lawlessness anywhere or in any cause. Why, gentlemen, look what it means. We claim to be the greatest democratic people in the world, and democracy means first of all that we can govern ourselves. If our men have not self-control, then they are not capable of that great thing which we call democratic government. A man who takes the law into his own hands is not the right man to co-

operate in any formation or development of law and institutions, and some of the processes by which the struggle between capital and labor is carried on are processes that come very near to taking the law into your own hands. I do not mean for a moment to compare them with what I have just been speaking of, but I want you to see that they are mere gradations in this manifestation of the unwillingness to coöperate, and that the fundamental lesson of the whole situation is that we must not only take common counsel, but that we must yield to and obey common counsel. Not all of the instrumentalities for this are at hand. I am hopeful that in the very near future new instrumentalities may be organized by which we can see to it that various things that are now going on ought not to go on. There are various processes of the dilution of labor and the unnecessary substitution of labor and the bidding in distant markets and unfairly upsetting the whole competition of labor which ought not to go on. I mean now on the part of employers, and we must interject some instrumentality of coöperation by which the fair thing will be done all around. I am hopeful that some such instrumentalities may be devised, but whether they are or not, we must use those that we have and upon every occasion where it is necessary have such an instrumentality originated upon that occasion.

So, my fellow-citizens, the reason I came away from Washington is that I sometimes get lonely down there. So many people come to Washington who know things that are not so, and there are so few people who know anything about what the people of the United States are thinking about. I have to come away and get reminded of the rest of the country. I have to come away and talk to men who are up against the real

thing, and say to them: "I am with you if you are with me." And the only test of being with me is not to think about me personally at all, but merely to think of me as the expression for the time being of the power and dignity and hope of the United States.

THE PROGRAM OF THE WORLD'S PEACE

January 8, 1918

Gentlemen of the Congress:

Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers, to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite program for the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added. That program proposed no concessions at all, either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied—every province, every city, every point

of vantage—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective Parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states, which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held with open, not closed doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German Reichstag of the 9th of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These

are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definite terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these defini-

tions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power apparently is shattered and yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open, and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man

whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world, as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us.

The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program, and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting

to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest coöperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their goodwill, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations

with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right, we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the Governments and peoples associated together against the imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace, such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade, if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new

world in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle, and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this, the culminating and final war for human liberty, has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

ADDRESS AT MOUNT VERNON

July 4, 1918

Gentlemen of the Diplomatic Corps and My Fellow-Citizens:

I am happy to draw apart with you to this quiet place of old counsel in order to speak a little of the

meaning of this day of our Nation's independence. The place seems very still and remote. It is as serene and untouched by the hurry of the world as it was in those great days long ago when General Washington was here and held leisurely conference with the men who were to be associated with him in the creation of a nation. From these gentle slopes they looked out upon the world and saw it whole, saw it with the light of the future upon it, saw it with modern eyes that turned away from a past which men of liberated spirits could no longer endure. It is for that reason that we cannot feel, even here, in the immediate presence of this sacred tomb, that this is a place of death. It was a place of achievement. A great promise that was meant for all mankind was here given plan and reality. The associations by which we are here surrounded are the inspiriting associations of that noble death which is only a glorious consummation. From this green hillside we also ought to be able to see with comprehending eyes the world that lies about us and should conceive anew the purposes that must set men free.

It is significant—significant of their own character and purpose and of the influences they were setting afoot—that Washington and his associates, like the barons at Runnymede, spoke and acted, not for a class, but for a people. It has been left for us to see to it that it shall be understood that they spoke and acted, not for a single people only, but for all mankind. They were thinking, not of themselves and of the material interests which centered in the little groups of landholders and merchants and men of affairs with whom they were accustomed to act, in Virginia and the colonies to the north and south of her, but of a people which wished to be done with classes and special interests and the authority of men whom they

had not themselves chosen to rule over them. They entertained no private purpose, desired no peculiar privilege. They were consciously planning that men of every class should be free and America a place to which men out of every nation might resort who wished to share with them the rights and privileges of free men. And we take our cue from them—do we not? We intend what they intended. We here in America believe our participation in this present war to be only the fruitage of what they planted. Our case differs from theirs only in this, that it is our inestimable privilege to concert with men out of every nation what shall make not only the liberties of America secure but the liberties of every other people as well. We are happy in the thought that we are permitted to do what they would have done had they been in our place. There must now be settled once for all what was settled for America in the great age upon whose inspiration we draw to-day. This is surely a fitting place from which calmly to look out upon our task, that we may fortify our spirits for its accomplishment. And this is the appropriate place from which to avow, alike to the friends who look on and to the friends with whom we have the happiness to be associated in action, the faith and purpose with which we act.

This, then, is our conception of the great struggle in which we are engaged. The plot is written plain upon every scene and every act of the supreme tragedy. On the one hand stand the peoples of the world—not only the peoples actually engaged, but many others also who suffer under mastery but cannot act; peoples of many races and in every part of the world—the people of stricken Russia still, among the rest, though they are for the moment unorganized and helpless.

Opposed to them, masters of many armies, stand an isolated, friendless group of governments who speak no common purpose but only selfish ambitions of their own by which none can profit but themselves, and whose peoples are fuel in their hands; governments which fear their people and yet are for the time their sovereign lords, making every choice for them and disposing of their lives and fortunes as they will, as well as of the lives and fortunes of every people who fall under their power—governments clothed with the strange trappings and the primitive authority of an age that is altogether alien and hostile to our own. The Past and the Present are in deadly grapple and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them.

There can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No halfway decision would be tolerable. No halfway decision is conceivable. These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace:

I. The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

II. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

III. The consent of all nations to be governed in

their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

IV. The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

These great objects can be put into a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

These great ends cannot be achieved by debating and seeking to reconcile and accommodate what statesmen may wish, with their projects for balances of power and of national opportunity. They can be realized only by the determination of what the thinking peoples of the world desire, with their longing hope for justice and for social freedom and opportunity.

I can fancy that the air of this place carries the accents of such principles with a peculiar kindness. Here were started forces which the great nation against which they were primarily directed at first regarded as a revolt against its rightful authority but which it has long since seen to have been a step in the liberation of its own people as well as of the

people of the United States; and I stand here now to speak—speak proudly and with confident hope—of the spread of this revolt, this liberation, to the great stage of the world itself! The blinded rulers of Prussia have roused forces they knew little of—forces which, once roused, can never be crushed to earth again; for they have at their heart an inspiration and a purpose which are deathless and of the very stuff of triumph.

APPEAL FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

SEPTEMBER 30, 1918

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:

The unusual circumstances of a world war in which we stand and are judged in the view not only of our own people and our own consciences but also in the view of all nations and peoples will, I hope, justify in your thought, as it does in mine, the message I have come to bring you. I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the constitutional amendment proposing the extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged. I have come to urge upon you the considerations which have led me to that conclusion. It is not only my privilege, it is also my duty to apprise you of every circumstance and element involved in this momentous struggle which seems to me to affect its very processes and its outcome. It is my duty to win the war and to ask you to remove every obstacle that stands in the way of winning it.

I had assumed that the Senate would concur in the

amendment because no disputable principle is involved but only a question of the method by which the suffrage is to be extended to women. There is and can be no party issue involved in it. Both of our great national parties are pledged, explicitly pledged, to equality of suffrage for the women of the country. Neither party, therefore, it seems to me, can justify hesitation as to the method of obtaining it, can rightfully hesitate to substitute federal initiative for state initiative, if the early adoption of this measure is necessary to the successful prosecution of the war and if the method of state action proposed in the party platforms of 1916 is impracticable within any reasonable length of time, if practicable at all. And its adoption is, in my judgment, clearly necessary to the successful prosecution of the war and the successful realization of the objects for which the war is being fought.

That judgment I take the liberty of urging upon you with solemn earnestness for reasons which I shall state very frankly and which I shall hope will seem as conclusive to you as they seem to me.

This is a peoples' war and the peoples' thinking constitutes its atmosphere and morale, not the predilections of the drawing room or the political considerations of the caucus. If we be indeed democrats and wish to lead the world to democracy, we can ask other peoples to accept in proof of our sincerity and our ability to lead them whither they wish to be led nothing less persuasive and convincing than our actions. Our professions will not suffice. Verification must be forthcoming when verification is asked for. And in this case verification is asked for—asked for in this particular matter. You ask by whom? Not through

diplomatic channels; not by Foreign Ministers. Not by the intimations of parliaments. It is asked for by the anxious, expectant, suffering peoples with whom we are dealing and who are willing to put their destinies in some measure in our hands, if they are sure that we wish the same things that they do. I do not speak by conjecture. It is not alone the voices of statesmen and of newspapers that reach me, and the voices of foolish and intemperate agitators do not reach me at all. Through many, many channels I have been made aware what the plain, struggling, workaday folk are thinking upon whom the chief terror and suffering of this tragic war falls. They are looking to the great, powerful, famous Democracy of the West to lead them to the new day for which they have so long waited; and they think, in their logical simplicity, that democracy means that women shall play their part in affairs alongside men and upon an equal footing with them. If we reject measures like this, in ignorance or defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to believe in us; they will cease to follow or to trust us. They have seen their own Governments accept this interpretation of democracy—seen old Governments like that of Great Britain, which did not profess to be democratic, promise readily and as of course this justice to women, though they had before refused it, the strange revelations of this war having made many things new and plain, to governments as well as to peoples.

Are we alone to refuse to learn the lesson? Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that our women can give—service and sacrifice of every kind—and still say we do not see what title that gives them to stand by our sides in the guidance of the affairs of

their nation and ours? We have made partners of the women in this war; shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and right? This war could not have been fought, either by the other nations engaged or by America, if it had not been for the services of the women—services rendered in every sphere—not merely in the fields of effort in which we have been accustomed to see them work, but wherever men have worked and upon the very skirts and edges of the battle itself. We shall not only be distrusted but shall deserve to be distrusted if we do not enfranchise them with the fullest possible enfranchisement, as it is now certain that the other great free nations will enfranchise them. We cannot isolate our thought and action in such a matter from the thought of the rest of the world. We must either conform or deliberately reject what they propose, and resign the leadership of liberal minds to others.

The women of America are too noble and too intelligent and too devoted to be slackers whether you give or withhold this thing that is mere justice; but I know the magic it will work in their thoughts and spirits if you give it them. I propose it as I would propose to admit soldiers to the suffrage, the men fighting in the field for our liberties and the liberties of the world, were they excluded. The tasks of the women lie at the very heart of the war, and I know how much stronger that heart will beat if you do this just thing and show our women that you trust them as much as you in fact and of necessity depend upon them.

Have I said that the passage of this amendment is a vitally necessary war measure, and do you need further proof? Do you stand in need of the trust

of other peoples and of the trust of our own women? Is that trust an asset or is it not? I tell you plainly, as the commander-in-chief of our armies and of the gallant men in our fleets, as the present spokesman of this people in our dealings with the men and women throughout the world who are now our partners, as the responsible head of a great government which stands and is questioned day by day as to its purposes, its principles, its hopes, whether they be serviceable to men everywhere or only to itself, and who must himself answer these questionings or be shamed, as the guide and director of forces caught in the grip of war and by the same token in need of every material and spiritual resource this great nation possesses—I tell you plainly that this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies of preparation and of battle.

And not to the winning of the war only. It is vital to the right solution of the great problems which we must settle, and settle immediately, when the war is over. We shall need them in our vision of affairs, as we have never needed them before, the sympathy and insight and clear moral instinct of the women of the world. The problems of that time will strike to the roots of many things that we have not hitherto questioned, and I for one believe that our safety in those questioning days, as well as our comprehension of matters that touch society to the quick, will depend upon the direct and authoritative participation of women in our counsels. We shall need their moral sense to preserve what is right and fine and worthy in our system of life as well as to discover just what it is that ought to be purified and reformed. Without their counselings we shall be only half wise.

That is my case. This is my appeal. Many may

deny its validity, if they choose, but no one can brush aside or answer the arguments upon which it is based. The executive tasks of this war rest upon me. I ask that you lighten them and place in my hands instruments, spiritual instruments, which I do not now possess, which I sorely need and which I have daily to apologize for not being able to employ.

APPEAL TO THE VOTERS TO RETURN A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, October 25, 1918

MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

The Congressional elections are at hand. They occur in the most critical period our country has ever faced or is likely to face in our time. If you have approved of my leadership and wish me to continue to be your unembarrassed spokesman in affairs at home and abroad, I earnestly beg that you will express yourselves unmistakably to that effect by returning a Democratic majority to both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

I am your servant and will accept your judgment without cavil. But my power to administer the great trust assigned to me by the Constitution would be seriously impaired should your judgment be adverse, and I must frankly tell you so because so many critical issues depend upon your verdict. No scruple of taste must in grim times like these be allowed to stand in the way of speaking the plain truth.

I have no thought of suggesting that any political party is paramount in matters of patriotism. I feel too keenly the sacrifices which have been made in this

war by all our citizens, irrespective of party affiliations, to harbor such an idea. I mean only that the difficulties and delicacies of our present task are of a sort that makes it imperatively necessary that the Nation should give its undivided support to the Government under a unified leadership, and that a Republican Congress would divide the leadership.

The leaders of the minority in the present Congress have unquestionably been pro-war, but they have been anti-administration. At almost every turn since we entered the war they have sought to take the choice of policy and the conduct of the war out of my hands and put it under the control of instrumentalities of their own choosing.

This is no time either for divided counsel or for divided leadership. Unity of command is as necessary now in civil action as it is upon the field of battle. If the control of the House and Senate should be taken away from the party now in power an opposing majority could assume control of legislation and oblige all action to be taken amidst contest and obstruction.

The return of a Republican majority to either House of the Congress would, moreover, certainly be interpreted on the other side of the water as a repudiation of my leadership. Spokesmen of the Republican Party are urging you to elect a Republican Congress in order to back up and support the President, but, even if they should in this way impose upon some credulous voters on this side of the water, they would impose on no one on the other side. It is well understood there as well as here that Republican leaders desire not so much to support the President as to control him.

The peoples of the allied countries with whom we are associated against Germany are quite familiar with the significance of elections. They would find it very

difficult to believe that the voters of the United States had chosen to support their President by electing to the Congress a majority controlled by those who are not in fact in sympathy with the attitude and action of the Administration.

I need not tell you, my fellow-countrymen, that I am asking your support not for my own sake or for the sake of a political party, but for the sake of the Nation itself in order that its inward duty of purpose may be evident to all the world. In ordinary times I would not feel at liberty to make such an appeal to you. In ordinary times divided counsels can be endured without permanent hurt to the country. But these are not ordinary times.

If in these critical days it is your wish to sustain me with undivided minds, I beg that you will say so in a way which it will not be possible to misunderstand, either here at home or among our associates on the other side of the sea. I submit my difficulties and my hopes to you.

WOODROW WILSON.

REPLY TO ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY THE KING OF ENGLAND

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, DECEMBER 27, 1918

YOUR MAJESTY:

I am deeply complimented by the gracious words which you have uttered. The welcome which you have given me and Mrs. Wilson has been so warm, so natural, so evidently from the heart that we have been more than pleased; we have been touched by it, and I believe that I correctly interpret that welcome as embodying not only your own generous spirit toward

us personally, but also as expressing for yourself and the great nation over which you preside that same feeling for my people, for the people of the United States. For you and I, sir—I temporarily—embody the spirit of two great nations; and whatever strength I have, and whatever authority, I possess only so long and so far as I express the spirit and purpose of the American people.

Any influence that the American people have over the affairs of the world is measured by their sympathy with the aspirations of free men everywhere. America does love freedom, and I believe that she loves freedom unselfishly. But if she does not, she will not and can not help the influence to which she justly aspires. I have had the privilege, sir, of conferring with the leaders of your own Government and with the spokesmen of the Governments of France and of Italy, and I am glad to say that I have the same conceptions that they have of the significance and scope of the duty upon which we have met. We have used great words, all of us, we have used the great words "right" and "justice," and now we are to prove whether or not we understand those words and how they are to be applied to the particular settlements which must conclude this war. And we must not only understand them, but we must have the courage to act upon our understanding.

Yet, after I have uttered the word "courage," it comes into my mind that it would take more courage to resist the great moral tide now running in the world than to yield to it, than to obey it. There is a great tide running in the hearts of men. The hearts of men have never beaten so singularly in unison before. Men have never before been so conscious of their brotherhood. Men have never before realized how little

difference there was between right and justice in one latitude and in another, under one sovereignty and under another; and it will be our high privilege, I believe, sir, not only to apply the moral judgments of the world to the particular settlements which we shall attempt, but also to organize the moral force of the world to preserve those settlements, to steady the forces of mankind and to make the right and the justice to which great nations like our own have devoted themselves the predominant and controlling force of the world.

There is something inspiriting in knowing that this is the errand that we have come on. Nothing less than this would have justified me in leaving the important tasks which fall upon me upon the other side of the sea, nothing but the consciousness that nothing else compares with this in dignity and importance. Therefore it is the more delightful to find myself in the company of a body of men united in ideal and in purpose, to feel that I am privileged to unite my thought with yours in carrying forward those standards which we are so proud to hold high and to defend.

May I not, sir, with a feeling of profound sincerity and friendship and sympathy propose your own health and the health of the Queen, and the prosperity of Great Britain?

MESSAGE TO THE SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

(Communicated by cable from Paris, France)
MAY 20, 1919

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I deeply regret my inability to be present at the opening of the extraordinary session of the Congress.

It still seems to be my duty to take part in the counsels of the peace conference and contribute what I can to the solution of the innumerable questions to whose settlement it has had to address itself: for they are questions which affect the peace of the whole world and from them, therefore, the United States cannot stand apart. I deemed it my duty to call the Congress together at this time because it was not wise to postpone longer the provisions which must be made for the support of the Government. Many of the appropriations which are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the Government and the fulfillment of its varied obligations for the fiscal year 1919-1920 have not yet been made; the end of the present fiscal year is at hand; and action upon these appropriations can no longer be prudently delayed. It is necessary, therefore, that I should immediately call your attention to this critical need. It is hardly necessary for me to urge that it may receive your prompt attention.

I shall take the liberty of addressing you on my return on the subjects which have most engrossed our attention and the attention of the world during these last anxious months, since the armistice of last November was signed, the international settlements which must form the subject matter of the present treaties of peace and of our national action in the immediate future. It would be premature to discuss them or to express a judgment about them before they are brought to their complete formulation by the agreements which are now being sought at the table of the conference. I shall hope to lay them before you in their many aspects so soon as arrangements have been reached.

I hesitate to venture any opinion or press any recommendation with regard to domestic legislation while

absent from the United States and out of daily touch with intimate sources of information and counsel. I am conscious that I need, after so long an absence from Washington, to seek the advice of those who have remained in constant contact with domestic problems and who have known them close at hand from day to day; and I trust that it will very soon be possible for me to do so. But there are several questions pressing for consideration to which I feel that I may, and indeed must, even now direct your attention, if only in general terms. In speaking of them I shall, I dare say, be doing little more than speak your own thoughts. I hope that I shall speak your own judgment also.

The question which stands at the front of all others in every country amidst the present great awakening is the question of labor; and perhaps I can speak of it with as great advantage while engrossed in the consideration of interests which affect all countries alike as I could at home and amidst the interests which naturally most affect my thought, because they are the interests of our own people.

By the question of labor I do not mean the question of efficient industrial production, the question of how labor is to be obtained and made effective in the great process of sustaining populations and winning success amidst commercial and industrial rivalries. I mean that much greater and more vital question, how are the men and women who do the daily labor of the world to obtain progressive improvement in the conditions of their labor, to be made happier, and to be served better by the communities and the industries which their labor sustains and advances? How are they to be given their right advantage as citizens and human beings?

We cannot go any further in our present direction. We have already gone too far. We cannot live our right life as a nation or achieve our proper success as an industrial community if capital and labor are to continue to be antagonistic instead of being partners; if they are to continue to distrust one another and contrive how they can get the better of one another. Or, what perhaps amounts to the same thing, calculate by what form and degree of coercion they can manage to extort on the one hand work enough to make enterprise profitable, on the other justice and fair treatment enough to make life tolerable. That bad road has turned out a blind alley. It is no thoroughfare to real prosperity. We must find another, leading in another direction and to a very different destination. It must lead not merely to accommodation but also to a genuine coöperation and partnership based upon a real community of interest and participation in control.

There is now in fact a real community of interest between capital and labor, but it has never been made evident in action. It can be made operative and manifest only in a new organization of industry. The genius of our business men and the sound practical sense of our workers can certainly work such a partnership out when once they realize exactly what it is that they seek and sincerely adopt a common purpose with regard to it.

Labor legislation lies, of course, chiefly with the states; but the new spirit and method of organization which must be effected are not to be brought about by legislation so much as by the common counsel and voluntary coöperation of capitalist, manager and workman. Legislation can go only a very little way in commanding what shall be done. The organization of industry is a matter of corporate and individual

initiative and of practical business arrangement. Those who really desire a new relationship between capital and labor can readily find a way to bring it about; and perhaps federal legislation can help more than state legislation could.

The object of all reform in this essential matter must be the genuine democratization of industry, based upon a full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare or the part they are to play in industry. Some positive legislation is practicable. The Congress has already shown the way to one reform which should be world-wide, by establishing the eight-hour day as the standard day in every field of labor over which it can exercise control. It has sought to find the way to prevent child labor, and will, I hope and believe, presently find it. It has served the whole country by leading the way in developing the means of preserving and safeguarding life and health in dangerous industries. It can now help in the difficult task of giving a new form and spirit to industrial organization by coördinating the several agencies of conciliation and adjustment which have been brought into existence by the difficulties and mistaken policies of the present management of industry, and by setting up and developing new Federal agencies of advice and information which may serve as a clearing house for the best experiments and the best thought on this great matter, upon which every thinking man must be aware that the future development of society directly depends. Agencies of international counsel and suggestion are presently to be created in connection with the League of Nations in this very field; but it is national action and the enlightened policy of indi-

viduals, corporations and societies within each nation that must bring about the actual reforms. The members of the committees on labor in the two houses will hardly need suggestions from me as to what means they shall seek to make the Federal Government the agent of the whole nation in pointing out and, if need be, guiding the process of reorganization and reform.

I am sure that it is not necessary for me to remind you that there is one immediate and very practical question of labor that we should meet in the most liberal spirit. We must see to it that our returning soldiers are assisted in every practicable way to find the places for which they are fitted in the daily work of the country. This can be done by developing and maintaining upon an adequate scale the admirable organization created by the Department of Labor for placing men seeking work; and it can also be done, in at least one very great field, by creating new opportunities for individual enterprise. The Secretary of the Interior has pointed out the way by which returning soldiers may be helped to find and take up land in the hitherto undeveloped regions of the country which the Federal Government has already prepared or can readily prepare for cultivation and also on many of the cut-over or neglected areas which lie within the limits of the older states; and I once more take the liberty of recommending very urgently that his plans shall receive the immediate and substantial support of the Congress.

Peculiar and very stimulating conditions await our commerce and industrial enterprise in the immediate future. Unusual opportunities will presently present themselves to our merchants and producers in foreign markets, and large fields for profitable investment will be opened to our free capital. But it is not only

of that that I am thinking; it is not chiefly of that that I am thinking. Many great industries prostrated by the war wait to be rehabilitated, in many parts of the world where what will be lacking is not brains or willing hands or organizing capacity or experienced skill, but machinery and raw materials and capital. I believe that our business men, our merchants, our manufacturers and our capitalists will have the vision to see that prosperity in one part of the world ministers to prosperity everywhere; that there is in a very true sense a solidarity of interest throughout the world of enterprise, and that our dealings with the countries that have need of our products and our money will teach them to deem us more than ever friends whose necessities we seek in the right way to serve.

Our new merchant ships, which have in some quarters been feared as destructive rivals, may prove helpful rivals, rather, and common servants, very much needed and very welcome. Our great shipyards, new and old, will be so opened to the use of the world that they will prove immensely serviceable to every maritime people in restoring, much more rapidly than would otherwise have been possible, the tonnage wantonly destroyed in the war. I have only to suggest that there are many points at which we can facilitate American enterprise in foreign trade by opportune legislation and make it easy for American merchants to go where they will be welcomed as friends rather than as dreaded antagonists. America has a great and honorable service to perform in bringing the commercial and industrial undertakings of the world back to their old scope and swing again, and putting a solid structure of credit under them. All our legislation should be friendly to such plans and purposes.

And credit and enterprise alike will be quickened by timely and helpful legislation with regard to taxation. I hope that the Congress will find it possible to undertake an early reconsideration of federal taxes, in order to make our system of taxation more simple and easy of administration and the taxes themselves as little burdensome as they can be made and yet suffice to support the Government and meet all its obligations. The figures to which those obligations have arisen are very great indeed, but they are not so great as to make it difficult for the nation to meet them, and meet them, perhaps, in a single generation, by taxes which will neither crush nor discourage. These are not so great as they seem, not so great as the immense sums we have had to borrow, added to the immense sums we have had to raise by taxation, would seem to indicate; for a very large proportion of those sums were raised in order that they might be loaned to the Governments with which we were associated in the war, and those loans will, of course, constitute assets, not liabilities, and will not have to be taken care of by our taxpayers.

The main thing we shall have to care for is that our taxation shall rest as lightly as possible on the productive resources of the country, that its rates shall be stable, and that it shall be constant in its revenue-yielding power. We have found the main sources from which it must be drawn. I take it for granted that its mainstays will henceforth be the income tax, the excess profits tax and the estate tax. All these can so be adjusted to yield constant and adequate returns and yet not constitute a too grievous burden on the taxpayer. A revision of the income tax has already been provided for by the Act of 1918, but I think you will find that further changes can be made

to advantage both in the rates of the tax and in the method of its collection. The excess profits tax need not long be maintained at the rates which were necessary while the enormous expenses of the war had to be borne; but it should be made the basis of a permanent system which will reach undue profits without discouraging the enterprise and activity of our business men. The tax on inheritances ought, no doubt, to be reconsidered in its relation to the fiscal systems of the several states, but it certainly ought to remain a permanent part of the fiscal system of the Federal Government also.

Many of the minor taxes provided for in the revenue legislation of 1917 and 1918, though no doubt made necessary by the pressing necessities of the war time, can hardly find sufficient justification under the easier circumstances of peace, and can now happily be got rid of. Among these, I hope you will agree, are the excises upon various manufacturers and the taxes upon retail sales. They are unequal in the incidence on different industries and on different individuals. Their collection is difficult and expensive. Those which are levied upon articles sold at retail are largely evaded by the readjustment of retail prices. On the other hand, I should assume that it is expedient to maintain a considerable range of indirect taxes; and the fact that alcoholic liquors will presently no longer afford a source of revenue by taxation makes it the more necessary that the field should be carefully restudied in order that equivalent sources of revenue may be found which it will be legitimate, and not burdensome, to draw upon. But you have at hand in the Treasury Department many experts who can advise you upon the matters much better than I can. I can only suggest the lines of a permanent and workable system, and

the placing of the taxes where they will least hamper the life of the people.

There is, fortunately, no occasion for undertaking in the immediate future any general revision of our system of import duties. No serious danger of foreign competition now threatens American industries. Our country has emerged from the war less disturbed and less weakened than any of the European countries which are our competitors in manufacture. Their industrial establishments have been subjected to greater strain than ours, their labor force to a more serious disorganization, and this is clearly not the time to seek an organized advantage. The work of mere reconstruction will, I am afraid, tax the capacity and the resources of their people for years to come. So far from there being any danger or need of accentuated foreign competition, it is likely that the conditions of the next few years will greatly facilitate the marketing of American manufactures abroad. Least of all should we depart from the policy adopted in the Tariff Act of 1913, of permitting the free entry into the United States of the raw materials needed to supplement and enrich our own abundant supplies.

Nevertheless, there are parts of our tariff system which need prompt attention. The experiences of the war have made it plain that in some cases too great reliance on foreign supply is dangerous, and that in determining certain parts of our tariff policy domestic considerations must be borne in mind which are political as well as economic. Among the industries to which special consideration should be given is that of the manufacture of dyestuffs and related chemicals. Our complete dependence upon German supplies before the war made the interruption of trade a cause of exceptional economic disturbance. The close relation be-

tween the manufacturer of dyestuffs, on the one hand, and of explosives and poisonous gases, on the other, moreover, has given the industry an exceptional significance and value. Although the United States will gladly and unhesitatingly join in the program of international disarmament, it will, nevertheless, be a policy of obvious prudence to make certain of the successful maintenance of many strong and well-equipped chemical plants. The Germar chemical industry, with which we will be brought into competition, was and may well be again, a thoroughly knit monopoly capable of exercising a competition of a peculiarly insidious and dangerous kind.

The United States should, moreover, have the means of properly protecting itself whenever our trade is discriminated against by foreign nations, in order that we may be assured of that equality of treatment which we hope to accord and to promote the world over. Our tariff laws as they now stand provide no weapon of retaliation in case other Governments should enact legislation unequal in its bearing on our products as compared with the products of other countries. Though we are as far as possible from desiring to enter upon any course of retaliation, we must frankly face the fact that hostile legislation by other nations is not beyond the range of possibility, and that it may have to be met by counter legislation. This subject has, fortunately, been exhaustively investigated by the United States Tariff Commission. A recent report of that Commission has shown very clearly that we lack and that we ought to have the instruments necessary for the assurance of equal and equitable treatment. The attention of the Congress has been called to this matter on past occasions and the past measures which are now recommended by the Tariff Commission are

substantially the same that have been suggested by previous administrations. I recommend that this phase of the tariff question receive the early attention of the Congress.

Will you not permit me, turning from these matters, to speak once more and very earnestly of the proposed amendment to the Constitution which would extend the suffrage to women and which passed the House of Representatives at the last session of the Congress? It seems to me that every consideration of justice and of public advantage calls for the immediate adoption of that amendment and its submission forthwith to the legislatures of the several states. Throughout all the world this long-delayed extension of the suffrage is looked for; in the United States, longer, I believe, than anywhere else, the necessity for it, and the immense advantage of it to the national life, has been urged and debated by women and men who saw the need for it and urged the policy of it when it required steadfast courage to be so much beforehand with the common conviction; and I, for one, covet for our country the distinction of being among the first to act in a great reform.

The telegraph and telephone lines will of course be returned to their owners so soon as the retransfer can be effected without administrative confusion, so soon, that is, as the change can be made with the least possible inconvenience to the public and to the owners themselves. The railroads will be handed over to their owners at the end of the calendar year; if I were in immediate contact with the administrative questions which must govern the retransfer of the telegraph and telephone lines, I could name the exact date for their return also. Until I am in direct contact with the prac-

tical questions involved I can only suggest that in the case of the telegraphs and telephones, as in the case of the railways, it is clearly desirable in the public interest that some legislation should be considered which may tend to make of these indispensable instrumentalities of our modern life a uniform and coördinated system which will afford those who use them as complete and certain means of communication with all parts of the country as has so long been afforded by the postal system of the Government, and at rates as uniform and intelligible. Expert advice is, of course, available in this very practical matter, and the public interest is manifest. Neither the telegraph nor the telephone service of the country can be said to be in any sense a national system. There are many confusions and inconsistencies of rates. The scientific means by which communication by such instrumentalities could be rendered more thorough and satisfactory has not been made full use of. An exhaustive study of the whole question of electrical communication and of the means by which the central authority of the nation can be used to unify and improve it, if undertaken by the appropriate committees of the Congress, would certainly result, indirectly even if not directly, in a great public benefit.

The demobilization of the military forces of the country has progressed to such a point that it seems to me entirely safe now to remove the ban upon the manufacture and sale of wines and beers, but I am advised that without further legislation, I have not the legal authority to remove the present restrictions. I therefore recommend that the Act approved November 21, 1918, entitled "An Act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year

ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the Act entitled 'An Act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products,' and for other purposes," be amended or repealed in so far as it applies to wines and beers.

I sincerely trust that I shall very soon be at my post in Washington again to report upon the matters which made my presence at the peace table apparently imperative, and to put myself at the service of the Congress in every matter of administration or counsel that may seem to demand executive action or advice.

WOODROW WILSON.

"THE TREATY OF PEACE HAS BEEN SIGNED"

Cablegram from Paris, June 28, 1919

MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

The treaty of peace has been signed. If it is ratified and acted upon in full and sincere execution of its terms it will furnish the charter for a new order of affairs in the world. It is a severe treaty in the duties and penalties it imposes upon Germany; but it is severe only because great wrongs done by Germany are to be righted and repaired; it imposes nothing that Germany cannot do; and she can regain her rightful standing in the world by the prompt and honorable fulfillment of its terms.

And it is much more than a treaty of peace with Germany. It liberates great peoples who have never before been able to find the way to liberty. It ends, once for all, an old and intolerable order under which small groups of selfish men could use the peoples of

great empires to serve their own ambition for power and dominion. It associates the free Governments of the world in a permanent League in which they are pledged to use their united power to maintain peace by maintaining right and justice.

It makes international law a reality supported by imperative sanctions. It does away with the right of conquest and rejects the policy of annexation and substitutes a new order under which backward nations—populations which have not yet come to political consciousness and peoples who are ready for independence but not yet quite prepared to dispense with protection and guidance—shall no more be subjected to the domination and exploitation of a stronger nation, but shall be put under the friendly direction and afforded the helpful assistance of Governments which undertake to be responsible to the opinion of mankind in the execution of their task by accepting the direction of the League of Nations.

It recognizes the inalienable rights of nationality, the rights of minorities and the sanctity of religious belief and practice. It lays the basis for conventions which shall free the commercial intercourse of the world from unjust and vexatious restrictions and for every sort of international coöperation that will serve to cleanse the life of the world and facilitate its common action in beneficent service of every kind. It furnishes guarantees such as were never given or even contemplated before for the fair treatment of all who labor at the daily tasks of the world.

It is for this reason that I have spoken of it as a great charter for a new order of affairs. There is ground here for deep satisfaction, universal reassurance and confident hope.

WOODROW WILSON.

ADDRESS TO THE SENATE, PRESENTING THE PEACE TREATY

JULY 10, 1919

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:

The treaty of peace with Germany was signed at Versailles on the 28th of June. I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to lay the treaty before you for ratification and to inform you with regard to the work of the Conference by which that treaty was formulated.

The treaty constitutes nothing less than a world settlement. It would not be possible for me either to summarize or to construe its manifold provisions in an address which must of necessity be something less than a treatise. My services and all the information I possess will be at your disposal and at the disposal of your Committee on Foreign Relations at any time, either informally or in session, as you may prefer; and I hope that you will not hesitate to make use of them. I shall at this time, prior to your own study of the document, attempt only a general characterization of its scope and purpose.

In one sense, no doubt, there is no need that I should report to you what was attempted and done at Paris. You have been daily cognizant of what was going on there—of the problems with which the Peace Conference had to deal and of the difficulty of laying down straight lines of settlement anywhere on a field on which the old lines of international relationship, and the new alike, followed so intricate a pattern and were for the most part cut so deep by historical circumstances which dominated action even where it would have been best to ignore or reverse them. The

cross-currents of politics and of interest must have been evident to you. It would be presuming in me to attempt to explain the questions which arose or the many diverse elements that entered into them. I shall attempt something less ambitious than that and more clearly suggested by my duty to report to the Congress the part it seemed necessary for my colleagues and me to play as the representatives of the Government of the United States.

That part was dictated by the rôle America had played in the war and by the expectations that had been created in the minds of the peoples with whom we had associated ourselves in that great struggle.

The United States entered the war upon a different footing from every other nation except our associates on this side the sea. We entered it, not because our material interests were directly threatened or because any special treaty obligations to which we were parties had been violated, but only because we saw the supremacy, and even the validity, of right everywhere put in jeopardy and free government likely to be everywhere imperiled by the intolerable aggression of a power which respected neither right nor obligation and whose very system of Government flouted the rights of the citizen as against the autocratic authority of his governors. And in the settlements of the peace we have sought no special reparation for ourselves, but only the restoration of right and the assurance of liberty everywhere that the effects of the settlement were to be felt. We entered the war as the disinterested champions of right and we interested ourselves in the terms of the peace in no other capacity.

The hopes of the nations allied against the Central Powers were at a very low ebb when our soldiers began to pour across the sea. There was everywhere

amongst them, except in their stoutest spirits, a sombre foreboding of disaster. The war ended in November, eight months ago, but you have only to recall what was feared in midsummer last, four short months before the Armistice, to realize what it was that our timely aid accomplished alike for their morale and their physical safety. That first, never-to-be-forgotten action at Château-Thierry had already taken place. Our redoubtable soldiers and marines had already closed the gap the enemy had succeeded in opening for their advance upon Paris—had already turned the tide of battle back towards the frontiers of France and begun the rout that was to save Europe and the world. Thereafter the Germans were to be always forced back, back, were never to thrust successfully forward again. And yet there was no confident hope. Anxious men and women, leading spirits of France, attended the celebration of the Fourth of July last year in Paris out of generous courtesy—with no heart for festivity, little zest for hope. But they came away with something new at their hearts; they have themselves told us so. The mere sight of our men—of their vigor, of the confidence that showed itself in every movement of their stalwart figures and every turn of their swinging march, in their steady, comprehending eyes and easy discipline, in the indomitable air that added spirit to everything they did—made every one who saw them that memorable day realize that something had happened that was much more than a mere incident in the fighting, something very different from the mere arrival of fresh troops. A great moral force had flung itself into the struggle. The fine physical force of those spirited men spoke of something more than bodily vigor. They carried the great ideals of a free

people at their hearts and with that vision were unconquerable. Their very presence brought reassurance; their fighting made victory certain.

They were recognized as crusaders, and as their thousands swelled to millions their strength was seen to mean salvation. And they were fit men to carry such a hope and make good the assurance it forecast. Finer men never went into battle; and their officers were worthy of them. This is not the occasion upon which to utter a eulogy of the armies America sent to France, but perhaps, since I am speaking of their mission, I may speak also of the pride I shared with every American who saw or dealt with them there. They were the sort of men America would wish to be represented by, the sort of men every American would wish to claim as fellow-countrymen and comrades in a great cause. They were terrible in battle, and gentle and helpful out of it, remembering the mothers and the sisters, the wives and the little children at home. They were free men under arms, not forgetting their ideals of duty in the midst of tasks of violence. I am proud to have had the privilege of being associated with them and of calling myself their leader.

But I speak now of what they meant to the men by whose sides they fought and to the people with whom they mingled with such utter simplicity, as friends who asked only to be of service. They were for all the visible embodiment of America. What they did made America and all that she stood for a living reality in the thoughts not only of the people of France but also of tens of millions of men and women throughout all the toiling nations of a world standing everywhere in peril of its freedom and of the loss of everything it held dear, in deadly fear that its bonds

were never to be loosed, its hopes forever to be mocked and disappointed.

And the compulsion of what they stood for was upon us who represented America at the peace table. It was our duty to see to it that every decision we took part in contributed, so far as we were able to influence it, to quiet the fears and realize the hopes of the peoples who had been living in that shadow, the nations that had come by our assistance to their freedom. It was our duty to do everything that it was within our power to do to make the triumph of freedom and of right a lasting triumph in the assurance of which men might everywhere live without fear.

Old entanglements of every kind stood in the way—promises which Governments had made to one another in the days when might and right were confused and the power of the victor was without restraint. Engagements which contemplated any dispositions of territory, any extensions of sovereignty that might seem to be to the interest of those who had the power to insist upon them, had been entered into without thought of what the peoples concerned might wish or profit by; and these could not always be honorably brushed aside. It was not easy to graft the new order of ideas on the old, and some of the fruits of the grafting may, I fear, for a time be bitter. But, with very few exceptions, the men who sat with us at the peace table desired as sincerely as we did to get away from the bad influences, the illegitimate purposes, the demoralizing ambitions, the international counsels and expedients out of which the sinister designs of Germany had sprung as a natural growth.

It had been our privilege to formulate the principles which were accepted as the basis of the peace, but they

had been accepted, not because we had come in to hasten and assure the victory and insisted upon them, but because they were readily acceded to as the principles to which honorable and enlightened minds everywhere had been bred. They spoke the conscience of the world as well as the conscience of America, and I am happy to pay my tribute of respect and gratitude to the able, forward-looking men with whom it was my privilege to coöperate for their unfailing spirit of coöperation, their constant effort to accommodate the interests they represented to the principles we were all agreed upon. The difficulties, which were many, lay in the circumstances, not often in the men. Almost without exception the men who led had caught the true and full vision of the problem of peace as an indivisible whole, a problem not of mere adjustments of interest, but of justice and right action.

The atmosphere in which the Conference worked seemed created, not by the ambitions of strong Governments, but by the hopes and aspirations of small nations and of peoples hitherto under bondage to the power that victory had shattered and destroyed. Two great empires had been forced into political bankruptcy, and we were the receivers. Our task was not only to make peace with the Central Empires and remedy the wrongs their armies had done. The Central Empires had lived in open violation of many of the very rights for which the war had been fought, dominating alien peoples over whom they had no natural right to rule, enforcing, not obedience, but veritable bondage, exploiting those who were weak for the benefit of those who were masters and overlords only by force of arms. There could be no peace until the whole order of central Europe was set right.

That meant that new nations were to be created—

Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary itself. No part of ancient Poland had ever in any true sense become a part of Germany, or of Austria, or of Russia. Bohemia was alien in every thought and hope to the monarchy of which she had so long been an artificial part; and the uneasy partnership between Austria and Hungary had been one rather of interest than of kinship or sympathy. The Slavs whom Austria had chosen to force into her empire on the south were kept to their obedience by nothing but fear. Their hearts were with their kinsmen in the Balkans. These were all arrangements of power, not arrangements of natural union or association. It was the imperative task of those who would make peace and make it intelligently to establish a new order which would rest upon the free choice of peoples rather than upon the arbitrary authority of Hapsburgs or Hohenzollerns.

More than that, great populations bound by sympathy and actual kin to Rumania were also linked against their will to the conglomerate Austro-Hungarian monarchy or to other alien sovereignties, and it was part of the task of peace to make a new Rumania as well as a new Slavic state clustering about Serbia.

And no natural frontiers could be found to these new fields of adjustment and redemption. It was necessary to look constantly forward to other related tasks. The German colonies were to be disposed of. They had not been governed; they had been exploited merely, without thought of the interest or even the ordinary human rights of their inhabitants.

The Turkish Empire, moreover, had fallen apart, as the Austro-Hungarian had. It had never had any real unity. It had been held together only by pitiless, inhuman force. Its peoples cried aloud for release,

for succor from unspeakable distress, for all that the new day of hope seemed at last to bring within its dawn. Peoples hitherto in utter darkness were to be led out into the same light and given at last a helping hand. Undeveloped peoples and peoples ready for recognition but not yet ready to assume the full responsibilities of statehood were to be given adequate guarantees of friendly protection, guidance and assistance.

And out of the execution of these great enterprises of liberty sprang opportunities to attempt what statesmen had never found the way before to do; an opportunity to throw safeguards about the rights of racial, national and religious minorities by solemn international covenant; an opportunity to limit and regulate military establishments where they were most likely to be mischievous; an opportunity to effect a complete and systematic internationalization of waterways and railways which were necessary to the free economic life of more than one nation and to clear many of the normal channels of commerce of unfair obstructions of law or of privilege; and the very welcome opportunity to secure for labor the concerted protection of definite international pledges of principle and practice.

These were not tasks which the Conference looked about it to find and went out of its way to perform. They were inseparable from the settlements of peace. They were thrust upon it by circumstances which could not be overlooked. The war had created them. In all quarters of the world old-established relationships had been disturbed or broken and affairs were at loose ends, needing to be mended or united again, but could not be made what they were before. They had to be set right by applying some uniform principle of justice

or enlightened expediency. And they could not be adjusted by merely prescribing in a treaty what should be done. New states were to be set up which could not hope to live through their first period of weakness without assured support by the great nations that had consented to their creation and won for them their independence. Ill-governed colonies could not be put in the hands of Governments which were to act as trustees for their people and not as their masters if there was to be no common authority among the nations to which they were to be responsible in the execution of their trust. Future international conventions with regard to the control of waterways, with regard to illicit traffic of many kinds, in arms or in deadly drugs, or with regard to the adjustment of many varying international administrative arrangements could not be assured if the treaty were to provide no permanent common international agency, if its execution in such matters was to be left to the slow and uncertain processes of coöperation by ordinary methods of negotiation. If the Peace Conference itself was to be the end of coöperative authority and common counsel among the Governments to which the world was looking to enforce justice and give pledges of an enduring settlement, regions like the Saar basin could not be put under a temporary administrative régime which did not involve a transfer of political sovereignty and which contemplated a final determination of its political connections by popular vote to be taken at a distant date; no free city like Danzig could be created which was, under elaborate international guarantees, to accept exceptional obligations with regard to the use of its port and exceptional relations with a state of which it was not to form a part; properly safeguarded plebiscites could not be

provided for where populations were at some future date to make choice what sovereignty they would live under; no certain and uniform method of arbitration could be secured for the settlement of anticipated difficulties of final decision with regard to many matters dealt with in the treaty itself; the long-continued supervision of the task of reparation which Germany was to undertake to complete within the next generation might entirely break down; the reconsideration and revision of administrative arrangements and restrictions which the treaty prescribed but which it was recognized might not prove of lasting advantage or entirely fair if too long enforced would be impracticable. The promises Governments were making to one another about the way in which labor was to be dealt with, by law not only but in fact as well, would remain a mere humane thesis if there was to be no common tribunal of opinion and judgment to which liberal statesmen could resort for the influences which alone might secure their redemption. A league of free nations had become a practical necessity. Examine the treaty of peace and you will find that everywhere throughout its manifold provisions its framers have felt obliged to turn to the League of Nations as an indispensable instrumentality for the maintenance of the new order it has been their purpose to set up in the world—the world of civilized men.

That there should be a League of Nations to steady the counsels and maintain the peaceful understandings of the world, to make, not treaties alone, but the accepted principles of international law as well, the actual rule of conduct among the Governments of the world, had been one of the agreements accepted from the first as the basis of peace with the Central Powers. The statesmen of all the belligerent countries were

agreed that such a league must be created to sustain the settlements that were to be effected. But at first I think there was a feeling among some of them that, while it must be attempted, the formation of such a league was perhaps a counsel of perfection which practical men, long experienced in the world of affairs, must agree to very cautiously and with many misgivings. It was only as the difficult work of arranging an all but universal adjustment of the world's affairs advanced from day to day from one stage of conference to another that it became evident to them that what they were seeking would be little more than something written upon paper, to be interpreted and applied by such methods as the chances of politics might make available if they did not provide a means of common counsel which all were obliged to accept, a common authority whose decisions would be recognized as decisions which all must respect.

And so the most practical, the most skeptical among them turned more and more to the League as the authority through which international action was to be secured, the authority without which, as they had come to see it, it would be difficult to give assured effect either to this treaty or to any other international understanding upon which they were to depend for the maintenance of peace. The fact that the Covenant of the League was the first substantive part of the treaty to be worked out and agreed upon, while all else was in solution, helped to make the formulation of the rest easier. The Conference was, after all, not to be ephemeral. The concert of nations was to continue, under a definite Covenant which had been agreed upon and which all were convinced was workable. They could go forward with confidence to make arrangements intended to be permanent. The most

practical of the conferees were at last the most ready to refer to the League of Nations the superintendence of all interests which did not admit of immediate determination, of all administrative problems which were to require a continuing oversight. What had seemed a counsel of perfection had come to seem a plain counsel of necessity. The League of Nations was the practical statesman's hope of success in many of the most difficult things he was attempting.

And it had validated itself in the thought of every member of the Conference as something much bigger, much greater every way, than a mere instrument for carrying out the provisions of a particular treaty. It was universally recognized that all the peoples of the world demanded of the Conference that it should create such a continuing concert of free nations as would make wars of aggression and spoliation such as this that has just ended forever impossible. A cry had gone out from every home in every stricken land from which sons and brothers and fathers had gone forth to the great sacrifice that such a sacrifice should never again be exacted. It was manifest why it had been exacted. It had been exacted because one nation desired dominion and other nations had known no means of defense except armaments and alliances. War had lain at the heart of every arrangement of the Europe—of every arrangement of the world—that preceded the war. Restive peoples had been told that fleets and armies, which they toiled to sustain, meant peace; and they now knew that they had been lied to; that fleets and armies had been maintained to promote national ambitions and meant war. They knew that no old policy meant anything else but force, force—always force. And they knew that it was in-

tolerable. Every true heart in the world, and every enlightened judgment demanded that, at whatever cost of independent action, every Government that took thought for its people or for justice or for ordered freedom should lend itself to a new purpose and utterly destroy the old order of international politics. Statesmen might see difficulties, but the people could see none and could brook no denial. A war in which they had been bled white to beat the terror that lay concealed in every Balance of Power must not end in a mere victory of arms and a new balance. The monster that had resorted to arms must be put in chains that could not be broken. The united power of free nations must put a stop to aggression, and the world must be given peace. If there was not the will or the intelligence to accomplish that now, there must be another and a final war and the world must be swept clean of every power that could renew the terror. The League of Nations was not merely an instrument to adjust and remedy old wrongs under a new treaty of peace; it was the only hope for mankind. Again and again had the demon of war been cast out of the house of the peoples and the house swept clean by a treaty of peace, only to prepare a time when he would enter in again with spirits worse than himself. The house must now be given a tenant who could hold it against all such. Convenient, indeed indispensable, as statesmen found the newly planned League of Nations to be for the execution of present plans of peace and reparation, they saw it in a new aspect before their work was finished. They saw it as the main object of the peace, as the only thing that could complete it or make it worth while. They saw it as the hope of the world, and that hope they did not dare to disappoint. Shall we or any other free people hesitate to accept

this great duty? Dare we reject it and break the heart of the world?

And so the result of the Conference of Peace, so far as Germany is concerned, stands complete. The difficulties encountered were very many. Sometimes they seemed insuperable. It was impossible to accommodate the interests of so great a body of nations—interests which directly or indirectly affected almost every nation in the world—without many minor compromises. The treaty, as a result, is not exactly what we would have written. It is probably not what any one of the national delegations would have written. But results were worked out which on the whole bear test. I think that it will be found that the compromises which were accepted as inevitable nowhere cut to the heart of any principle. The work of the Conference squares, as a whole, with the principles agreed upon as the basis of the peace as well as with the practical possibilities of the international situations which had to be faced and dealt with as facts.

I shall presently have occasion to lay before you a special treaty with France, whose object is the temporary protection of France from unprovoked aggression by the Power with whom this treaty of peace has been negotiated. Its terms link it with this treaty. I take the liberty, however, of reserving it for special explication on another occasion.

The rôle which America was to play in the Conference seemed determined, as I have said, before my colleagues and I got to Paris—determined by the universal expectations of the nations whose representatives, drawn from all quarters of the globe, we were to deal with. It was universally recognized that America had entered the war to promote no private or peculiar interest of her own but only as the cham-

pion of rights which she was glad to share with free men and lovers of justice everywhere. We had formulated the principles upon which the settlement was to be made—the principles upon which the Armistice had been agreed to and the parleys of peace undertaken—and no one doubted that our desire was to see the treaty of peace formulated along the actual lines of those principles—and desired nothing else. We were welcomed as disinterested friends. We were resorted to as arbiters in many a difficult matter. It was recognized that our material aid would be indispensable in the days to come, when industry and credit would have to be brought back to their normal operation again and communities beaten to the ground assisted to their feet once more, and it was taken for granted, I am proud to say, that we would play the helpful friend in these things as in all others without prejudice or favor. We were generously accepted as the unaffected champions of what was right. It was a very responsible rôle to play; but I am happy to report that the fine group of Americans who helped with their expert advice in each part of the varied settlements sought in every transaction to justify the high confidence reposed in them.

And that confidence, it seems to me, is the measure of our opportunity and of our duty in the days to come, in which the new hope of the peoples of the world is to be fulfilled or disappointed. The fact that America is the friend of the nations, whether they be revivals or associates, is no new fact: it is only the discovery of it by the rest of the world that is new.

America may be said to have just reached her majority as a world power. It was almost exactly twenty-one years ago that the results of the war with Spain put us unexpectedly in possession of rich islands

on the other side of the world and brought us into association with other Governments in the control of the West Indies. It was regarded as a sinister and ominous thing by the statesmen of more than one European chancellery that we should have extended our power beyond the confines of our continental dominions. They were accustomed to think of new neighbors as a new menace, of rivals as watchful enemies. There were persons amongst us at home who looked with deep disapproval and avowed anxiety on such extensions of our national authority over distant islands and over peoples whom they feared we might exploit, not serve and assist. But we have not exploited them. We have been their friends and have sought to serve them. And our dominion has been a menace to no other nation. We redeemed our honor to the utmost in our dealings with Cuba. She is weak but absolutely free; and it is her trust in us that makes her free. Weak peoples everywhere stand ready to give us any authority among them that will. assure them a like friendly oversight and direction. They know that there is no ground for fear in receiving us as their mentors and guides. Our isolation was ended twenty years ago; and now fear of us is ended also, our counsel and association sought after and desired. There can be no question of our ceasing to be a world power. The only question is whether we can refuse the moral leadership that is offered us, whether we shall accept or reject the confidence of the world.

The war and the Conference of Peace now sitting in Paris seem to me to have answered that question. Our participation in the war established our position among the nations and nothing but our own mistaken action can alter it. It was not an accident or a matter of sudden choice that we are no longer isolated and

devoted to a policy which has only our own interest and advantage for its object. It was our duty to go in, if we were indeed the champions of liberty and of right. We answered to the call of duty in a way so spirited, so utterly without thought of what we spent of blood or treasure, so effective, so worthy of the admiration of true men everywhere, so wrought out of the stuff of all that was heroic, that the whole world saw at last, in the flesh, in noble action, a great ideal asserted and vindicated, by a nation they had deemed material and now found to be compact of the spiritual forces that must free men of every nation from every unworthy bondage. It is thus that a new rôle and a new responsibility have come to this great nation that we honor and which we would all wish to lift to yet higher levels of service and achievement.

The stage is set, the destiny disclosed. It has come about by no plan of our conceiving, but by the hand of God who led us into this way. We can not turn back. We can only go forward, with lifted eyes and freshened spirit, to follow the vision. It was of this that we dreamed at our birth. America shall in truth show the way. The light streams upon the path ahead, and nowhere else.

ADDRESS AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

SEPTEMBER 4, 1919

MR. CHAIRMAN, GOVERNOR CAMPBELL, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

It is with very profound pleasure that I find myself face to face with you. I have for a long time chafed at the confinement of Washington. I have for a long

time wished to fulfill the purpose with which my heart was full when I returned to our beloved country, namely, to go out and report to my fellow-countrymen concerning those affairs of the world which now need to be settled. The only people I owe any report to are you and the other citizens of the United States.

And it has become increasingly necessary, apparently, that I should report to you. After all the various angles at which you have heard the treaty held up, perhaps you would like to know what is in the treaty. I find it very difficult in reading some of the speeches that I have read to form any conception of that great document. It is a document unique in the history of the world for many reasons, and I think I can not do you a better service, or the peace of the world a better service, than by pointing out to you just what this treaty contains and what it seeks to do.

In the first place, my fellow-countrymen, it seeks to punish one of the greatest wrongs ever done in history, the wrong which Germany sought to do to the world and to civilization; and there ought to be no weak purpose with regard to the application of the punishment. She attempted an intolerable thing, and she must be made to pay for the attempt. The terms of the treaty are severe, but they are not unjust. I can testify that the men associated with me at the Peace Conference in Paris had it in their hearts to do justice and not wrong. But they knew, perhaps, with a more vivid sense of what had happened than we could possibly know on this side of the water, the many solemn covenants which Germany had disregarded, the long preparation she had made to overwhelm her neighbors and the utter disregard which she had shown for human rights, for the rights of women, of children, of those who were helpless. They had seen their lands dev-

astated by an enemy that devoted himself not only to the effort at victory, but to the effort at terror—seeking to terrify the people whom he fought. And I wish to testify that they exercised restraint in the terms of this treaty. They did not wish to overwhelm any great nation. They acknowledged that Germany was a great nation, and they had no purpose of overwhelming the German people, but they did think that it ought to be burned into the consciousness of men forever that no people ought to permit its Government to do what the German Government did.

In the last analysis, my fellow-countrymen, as we in America would be the first to claim, a people are responsible for the acts of their government. If their government purposes things that are wrong, they ought to take measures to see to it that that purpose is not executed. Germany was self-governed; her rulers had not concealed the purposes that they had in mind, but they had deceived their people as to the character of the methods they were going to use, and I believe from what I can learn that there is an awakened consciousness in Germany itself of the deep iniquity of the thing that was attempted. When the Austrian delegates came before the Peace Conference, they in so many words spoke of the origination of the war as a crime and admitted in our presence that it was a thing intolerable to contemplate. They knew in their hearts that it had done them the deepest conceivable wrong, that it had put their people and the people of Germany at the judgment seat of mankind, and throughout this treaty every term that was applied to Germany was meant, not to humiliate Germany, but to rectify the wrong that she had done.

Look even into the severe terms of reparation—for there was no indemnity. No indemnity of any sort was

claimed, merely reparation, merely paying for the destruction done, merely making good the losses so far as such losses could be made good which she had unjustly inflicted, not upon the governments, for the reparation is not to go to the governments, but upon the people whose rights she had trodden upon with absolute absence of everything that even resembled pity. There was no indemnity in this treaty, but there is reparation, and even in the terms of reparation a method is devised by which the reparation shall be adjusted to Germany's ability to pay it.

I am astonished at some of the statements I hear made about this treaty. The truth is that they are made by persons who have not read the treaty or who, if they have read it, have not comprehended its meaning. There is a method of adjustment in that treaty by which the reparation shall not be pressed beyond the point which Germany can pay, but which will be pressed to the utmost point that Germany can pay—which is just, which is righteous. It would have been intolerable if there had been anything else. For, my fellow-citizens, this treaty is not meant merely to end this single war. It is meant as a notice to every government which in the future will attempt this thing that mankind will unite to inflict the same punishment. There is no national triumph sought to be recorded in this treaty. There is no glory sought for any particular nation. The thought of the statesmen collected around that table was of their people, of the sufferings that they had gone through, of the losses they had incurred—that great throbbing heart which was so depressed, so forlorn, so sad in every memory that it had had of the five tragical years that have gone. Let us never forget those years, my fellow-countrymen. Let us never forget the purpose—

the high purpose, the disinterested purpose—with which America lent its strength not for its own glory but for the defense of mankind.

As I said, this treaty was not intended merely to end this war. It was intended to prevent any similar war. I wonder if some of the opponents of the League of Nations have forgotten the promises we made our people before we went to that peace table. We had taken by processes of law the flower of our youth from every household, and we told those mothers and fathers and sisters and wives and sweethearts that we were taking those men to fight a war which would end business of that sort; and if we do not end it, if we do not do the best that human concert of action can do to end it, we are of all men the most unfaithful, the most unfaithful to the loving hearts who suffered in this war, the most unfaithful to those households bowed in grief and yet lifted with the feeling that the lad laid down his life for a great thing and, among other things, in order that other lads might never have to do the same thing. That is what the League of Nations is for, to end this war justly, and then not merely to serve notice on Governments which would contemplate the same things that Germany contemplated that they will do it at their peril, but also concerning the combination of power which will prove to them that they will do it at their peril. It is idle to say the world WILL combine against you, because it may not, but it is persuasive to say the world IS combined against you, and will remain combined against the things that Germany attempted. The League of Nations is the only thing that can prevent the recurrence of this dreadful catastrophe and redeem our promises.

The character of the League is based upon the ex-

perience of this very war. I did not meet a single public man who did not admit these things, that Germany would not have gone into this war if she had thought Great Britain was going into it, and that she most certainly would never have gone into this war if she dreamed America was going into it. And they all admitted that a notice beforehand that the greatest powers of the world would combine to prevent this sort of thing would prevent it absolutely. When gentlemen tell you, therefore, that the League of Nations is intended for some other purpose than this, merely reply this to them: If we do not do this thing, we have neglected the central covenant that we made to our people, and there will then be no statesman of any country who can thereafter promise his people alleviation from the perils of war. The passions of this world are not dead. The rivalries of this world have not cooled. They have been rendered hotter than ever. The harness that is to unite nations is more necessary now than it ever was before, and unless there is this assurance of combined action, before wrong is attempted, wrong will be attempted just as soon as the most ambitious nations can recover from the financial stress of this war.

Now, look what else is in the treaty. This treaty is unique in the history of mankind, because the center of it is the redemption of weak nations. There never was a congress of nations before that considered the rights of those who could not enforce their rights. There never was a congress of nations before that did not seek to effect some balance of power brought about by means of serving the strength and interest of the strongest powers concerned; whereas this treaty builds up nations that never could have won their freedom in any other way; builds them up by gift, by largess, not

by obligations; builds them up because of the conviction of the men who wrote the treaty that the rights of people transcend the rights of Governments, because of the conviction of the men who wrote that treaty that the fertile source of war is wrong. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, for example, was held together by military force and consisted of peoples who did not want to live together, who did not have the spirit of nationality as toward each other, who were constantly chafing at the bands that held them. Hungary, though a willing partner of Austria, was willing to be a partner because she could share Austria's strength to accomplish her own ambitions, and her own ambitions were to hold under her the Jugo-Slavic peoples that lay to the south of her; Bohemia, an unhappy partner, a partner by duress, beating in all her veins the strongest national impulse that was to be found anywhere in Europe; and north of that, pitiful Poland, a great nation divided up among the great powers of Europe, torn asunder, kinship disregarded, natural ties treated with contempt, and an obligatory division among sovereigns imposed upon her—a part of her given to Russia, a part of her given to Austria, a part of her given to Germany—great bodies of Polish people never permitted to have their normal intercourse with their kinsmen for fear that that fine instinct of the heart should assert itself which binds families together. Poland could never have won her independence. Bohemia never could have broken away from the Austro-Hungarian combination. The Slavic peoples to the south, running down into the great Balkan Peninsula, had again and again tried to assert their nationality and independence, and had as often been crushed, not by the immediate power they were fighting, but by the combined power of Europe. The

old alliances, the old balances of power, were meant to see to it that no little nation asserted its right to the disturbance of the peace of Europe, and every time an assertion of rights was attempted they were suppressed by combined influence and force.

This treaty tears away all that: says these people have a right to live their own lives under the Governments which they themselves choose to set up. That is the American principle, and I was glad to fight for it. When strategic claims were urged, it was matter of common counsel that such considerations were not in our thought. We were not now arranging for future wars. We were giving people what belonged to them. My fellow-citizens, I do not think there is any man alive who has a more tender sympathy for the great people of Italy than I have, and a very stern duty was presented to us when we had to consider some of the claims of Italy on the Adriatic, because strategically, from the point of view of future wars, Italy needed a military foothold on the other side of the Adriatic, but her people did not live there except in little spots. It was a Slavic people, and I had to say to my Italian friends: "Everywhere else in this treaty we have given territory to the people who lived on it, and I do not think that it is for the advantage of Italy, and I am sure it is not for the advantage of the world, to give Italy territory where other people live." I felt the force of the argument for what they wanted, and it was the old argument that had always prevailed, namely, that they needed it from a military point of view, and I have no doubt that if there is no league of nations, they will need it from a military point of view; but if there is a league of nations, they will not need it from a military point of view.

If there is no league of nations, the military point of view will prevail in every instance, and peace will be brought into contempt, but if there is a league of nations, Italy need not fear the fact that the shores on the other side of the Adriatic tower above the lower and sandy shores on her side of the sea, because there will be no threatening guns there, and the nations of the world will have concerted, not merely to see that the Slavic peoples have their rights, but that the Italian people have their rights as well. I had rather have everybody on my side than be armed to the teeth. Every settlement that is right, every settlement that is based on the principles I have alluded to, is a safe settlement, because the sympathy of mankind will be behind it.

Some gentlemen have feared with regard to the League of Nations that we will be obliged to do things we do not want to do. If the treaty were wrong, that might be so, but if the treaty is right, we will wish to preserve right. I think I know the heart of this great people whom I, for the time being, have the honor to represent, better than some other men that I hear talk. I have been bred, and am proud to have been bred, in the old revolutionary school which set this Government up, when it was set up as the friend of mankind, and I know, if they do not, America has never lost that vision or that purpose. But I have not the slightest fear that arms will be necessary if the purpose is there. If I know that my adversary is armed and I am not, I do not press the controversy, and if any nation entertains selfish purposes set against the principles established in this treaty and is told by the rest of the world that it must withdraw its claims, it will not press them.

The heart of this treaty then, my fellow-citizens, is

not even that it punishes Germany That is a temporary thing. It is that it rectifies the age-long wrongs which characterized the history of Europe. There were some of us who wished that the scope of the treaty would reach some other age-long wrongs. It was a big job, and I do not say that we wished that it were bigger, but there were other wrongs elsewhere than in Europe and of the same kind which no doubt ought to be righted, and some day will be righted, but which we could not draw into the treaty because we could deal only with the countries whom the war had engulfed and affected. But so far as the scope of our authority went, we rectified the wrongs which have been the fertile source of war in Europe.

Have you ever reflected, my fellow-countrymen, on the real source of revolution? Men do not start revolutions in a sudden passion. Do you remember what Thomas Carlyle said about the French Revolution? He was speaking of the so-called Hundred Days' Terror which reigned not only in Paris, but throughout France, in the days of the French Revolution, and he reminded his readers that back of that hundred days lay several hundred years of agony and of wrong. The French people had been deeply and consistently wronged by their Government, robbed, their human rights disregarded, and the slow agony of those hundreds of years had after a while gathered into a hot anger that could not be suppressed. Revolutions do not spring up overnight. Revolutions come from the long suppression of the human spirit. Revolutions come because men know that they have rights and that they are disregarded; and when we think of the future of the world in connection with this treaty we must remember that one of the chief efforts of those who made this treaty was to remove that anger

from the heart of great peoples, great peoples who had always been suppressed, who had always been used, and who had always been the tools in the hands of Governments, generally alien Governments, not their own. The makers of the treaty knew that if these wrongs were not removed there could be no peace in the world, because, after all, my fellow-citizens, war comes from the seed of wrong and not from the seed of right. This treaty is an attempt to right the history of Europe, and, in my humble judgment, it is a measurable success. I say "measurable," my fellow-citizens, because you will realize the difficulty of this:

Here are two neighboring peoples. The one people have not stopped at a sharp line, and the settlements of the other people or their migrations have not begun at a sharp line. They have intermingled. There are regions where you can not draw a national line and say there are Slavs on this side (illustrating) and Italians on that (illustrating). It can not be done. You have to approximate the line. You have to come as near to it as you can, and then trust to the processes of history to redistribute, it may be, the people that are on the wrong side of the line. There are many such lines drawn in this treaty and to be drawn in the Austrian treaty, where there are perhaps more lines of that sort than in the German treaty. When we came to draw the line between the Polish people and the German people—not the line between Germany and Poland (there was no Poland, strictly speaking), but the line between the German and the Polish people—we were confronted by such problems as the disposition of districts like the eastern part of Silesia, which is called Upper Silesia because it is mountainous and the other part is not. Upper Silesia is chiefly Polish,

and when we came to draw the line of what should be Poland it was necessary to include Upper Silesia if we were really going to play fair and make Poland up of the Polish peoples wherever we found them in sufficiently close neighborhood to one another, but it was not perfectly clear that Upper Silesia wanted to be part of Poland. At any rate, there were Germans in Upper Silesia who said that it did not, and therefore we did there what we did in many other places. We said: "Very well, then, we will let the people that live there decide. We will have a referendum. Within a certain length of time after the war, under the supervision of an international commission which will have a sufficient armed force behind it to preserve order and see that nobody interferes with the elections, we will have an absolutely free vote and Upper Silesia shall go either to Germany or to Poland, as the people in Upper Silesia prefer." That illustrates many other cases where we provided for a referendum, or a plebiscite, as they chose to call it. We are going to leave it to the people themselves, as we should have done, what government they shall live under. It is none of my prerogative to allot peoples to this government or the other. It is nobody's right to do that allotting except the people themselves, and I want to testify that this treaty is shot through with the American principle of the choice of the governed.

Of course, at times it went further than we could make a practical policy of, because various peoples were keen upon getting back portions of their population which were separated from them by many miles of territory, and we could not spot the map over with little pieces of separated states. I even reminded my Italian colleagues that if they were going to claim every place where there was a large Italian population,

we would have to cede New York to them, because there are more Italians in New York than in any Italian city. But I hope, I believe, that the Italians in New York City are as glad to stay there as we are to have them. But I would not have you suppose that I am intimating that my Italian colleagues entered any claim for New York City.

We of all peoples in the world, my fellow-citizens, ought to be able to understand the questions of this treaty without anybody explaining them to us, for we are made up out of all the peoples of the world. I dare say that in this audience there are representatives of practically all the peoples dealt with in this treaty. You do not have to have me explain national aspirations to you. You have been brought up on them. You have learned of them since you were children, and it is those national aspirations which we sought to release and give an outlet to in this great treaty.

But we did much more than that. This treaty contains among other things a Magna Charta of Labor—a thing unheard of until this interesting year of grace. There is a whole section of the treaty devoted to arrangements by which the interests of those who labor with their hands all over the world, whether they be men or women or children, are sought to be safeguarded; and next month there is to meet the first assembly under this section of the League. Let me tell you, it will meet whether the treaty is ratified by that time or not. There is to meet an assembly which represents the interests of laboring men throughout the world. Not their political interests; there is nothing political about it. It is the interests of men concerning the conditions of their labor; concerning the character of labor which women shall engage in, the character of labor which children shall be per-

mitted to engage in; the hours of labor; and, incidentally, of course, the remuneration of labor; that labor shall be remunerated in proportion, of course, to the maintenance of the standard of living which is proper for the man who is expected to give his whole brain and intelligence and energy to a particular task. I hear very little said about the Magna Charta of labor which is embodied in this treaty. It forecasts the day which ought to have come long ago, when statesmen will realize that no nation is fortunate which is not happy and that no nation can be happy whose people are not contented; contented in their lives and fortunate in the circumstances of their lives.

If I were to state what seems to me the central idea of this treaty, it would be this: It is almost a discovery in international conventions that nations do not consist of their governments but consist of their people. That is a rudimentary idea. It seems to us in America to go without saying, but, my fellow-citizens, it was never the leading idea in any other international congress that I ever heard of; that is to say, any international congress made up of the representatives of governments. They were always thinking of national policy, of national advantage, of the rivalries of trade, of the advantages of territorial conquest. There is nothing of that in this treaty. You will notice that even the territories which are taken away from Germany, like her colonies, are not given to anybody. There is not a single act of annexation in this treaty. Territories inhabited by people not yet ready to govern themselves, either because of economical or other circumstances, are put under the care of powers who are to act as trustees—trustees responsible in the form of the world at the bar of the League of Nations—and the terms upon which they are to exercise their trusteeship

are outlined. They are not to use those people by way of draft to fight their wars for them. They are not to permit any form of slavery among them, or of enforced labor. They are to see to it that there are humane conditions of labor with regard not only to the women and children but to the men also. They are to establish no fortifications. They are to regulate the liquor and the opium traffic. They are to see to it, in other words, that the lives of the people whose care they assume—not sovereignty over whom they assume—are kept clean and safe and wholesome. There again the principle of the treaty comes out, that the object of the arrangement is the welfare of the people who live there, and not the advantage of the trustee.

It goes beyond that. It seeks to gather under the common supervision of the League of Nations the various instrumentalities by which the world has been trying to check the evils that were in some places debasing men, like the opium traffic, like the traffic—for it was a traffic—in women and children, like the traffic in other dangerous drugs, like the traffic in arms among uncivilized people who could use arms only for their own detriment. It provides for sanitation, for the work of the Red Cross. Why, those clauses, my fellow-citizens, draw the hearts of the world into league, draw the noble impulses of the world together and make a team of them.

I used to be told that this was an age in which mind was monarch, and my comment was that if that were true, the mind was one of those modern monarchs that reigns and does not govern; that, as a matter of fact, we were governed by a great representative assembly made up of the human passions, and that the best we could manage was that the high and fine passions should be in a majority so that they could control

the baser passions, so that they could check the things that were wrong. This treaty seeks something like that. In drawing the humane endeavors of the world together it makes a league of the fine passions of the world, of its philanthropic passions, of its passion of pity, of its passion of human sympathy, of its passion of human friendliness and helpfulness, for there is such a passion. It is the passion which has lifted us along the slow road of civilization. It is the passion which has made ordered government possible. It is the passion which has made justice and established it in the world.

That is the treaty. Did you ever hear of it before? Did you ever know before what was in this treaty? Did anybody before ever tell you what the treaty was intended to do? I beg, my fellow-citizens, that you and the rest of those Americans with whom we are happy to be associated all over this broad land will read the treaty yourselves, or, if you will not take the time to do that—for it is a technical document—that you will accept the interpretation of those who made it and know what the intentions were in the making of it. I hear a great deal, my fellow-citizens, about the selfishness and the selfish ambitions of other governments, and I would not be doing justice to the gifted men with whom I was associated on the other side of the water if I did not testify that the purposes that I have outlined were their purposes. We differed as to the method very often. We had discussions as to the details, but we never had any serious discussions as to the principle. While we all acknowledged that the principles might perhaps in detail have been better realized, we are all back of those principles. There is a concert of mind and of purpose and of policy in the world that was never in existence before. I am

not saying that by way of credit to myself or to those colleagues to whom I have alluded, because what happened to us was that we got messages from our people. We were under instructions, whether they were written down or not, and we did not dare come home without fulfilling those instructions. If I could not have brought back the kind of treaty that I did bring back, I never would have come back, because I would have been an unfaithful servant, and you would have had the right to condemn me in any way that you chose to use. So that I testify that this is an American treaty not only, but it is a treaty that expresses the heart of the great peoples who were associated together in the war against Germany.

I said at the opening of this informal address, my fellow-citizens, that I had come to make a report to you. I want to add to that a little bit. I have not come to debate the treaty. It speaks for itself, if you will let it. The arguments directed against it are directed against it with a radical misunderstanding of the instrument itself. Therefore, I am not going anywhere to debate the treaty. I am going to expound it, and I am going, as I do here, now, to-day, to urge you in every vocal method that you can use to assert the spirit of the American people in support of it. Do not let men pull it down. Do not let them misrepresent it. Do not let them lead this Nation away from the high purposes with which this war was inaugurated and fought. As I came through that line of youngsters in khaki a few minutes ago I felt that I could salute them because I had done the job in the way I promised them I would do it, and when this treaty is accepted, men in khaki will not have to cross the seas again. That is the reason I believe in it.

I say "when it is accepted," for it will be accepted.

I have never entertained a moment's doubt of that, and the only thing I have been impatient of has been the delay. It is not dangerous delay, except for the temper of the peoples scattered throughout the world who are waiting. Do you realize, my fellow-citizens, that the whole world is waiting on America? The only country in the world that is trusted at this moment is the United States, and the peoples of the world are waiting to see whether their trust is justified or not. That has been the ground of my impatience. I knew their trust was justified, but I begrudged the time that certain gentlemen wish to take in telling them so. We shall tell them so in a voice as authentic as any voice in history, and in the years to come men will be glad to remember that they had some part in the great struggle which brought this incomparable consummation of the hopes of mankind.

THE VOLSTEAD ACT

Vetoes the Volstead Act (H.R. 6810) on October 27, 1919.

On the same day the House of Representatives passed the bill over veto:

Aye	175
No	55
Not voting	198

The Senate, on October 28, passed the bill over the veto:

Aye	65
No	20
Not voting	11

The text of the veto is as follows:

"To the House of Representatives:

"I am returning, without my signature, H.R. 6810, 'An Act to prohibit intoxicating beverages, and to regulate the manufacture, production, use and sale of high-proof spirits for other than beverage purposes, and to insure an ample supply of alcohol and promote its use in scientific research and in the development of fuel, dye and other lawful industries.'

"The subject matter treated in this measure deals with two distinct phases of the prohibition legislation. One part of the act under consideration seeks to enforce war-time prohibition. The other provides for the enforcement which was made necessary by the adoption of the constitutional amendment. I object to and can not approve that part of this legislation with reference to war-time prohibition. It has to do with the enforcement of an act which was passed by reason of the emergencies of the war and whose objects have been satisfied in the demobilization of the Army and Navy, and whose repeal I have already sought at the hands of Congress. Where the purposes of particular legislation arising out of war emergency have been satisfied, sound public policy makes clear the reason and necessity for repeal.

"It will not be difficult for Congress in considering this important matter to separate these two questions and effectively to legislate regarding them, making the proper distinction between temporary causes which arose out of war-time emergencies and those like the constitutional amendment of prohibition which is now part of the fundamental law of the country. In all matters having to do with the personal habits and customs of large numbers of our people we must be

certain that the established processes of legal change are followed. In no other way can the salutary object sought to be accomplished by great reforms of this character be made satisfactory and permanent.

JACKSON DAY LETTER

JANUARY 8, 1920

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN:

It is with the keenest regret that I find that I am to be deprived of the pleasure and privilege of joining you and the other loyal Democrats who are to assemble to-night to celebrate Jackson Day and renew their vows of fidelity to the great principles of our party, the principles which must now fulfill the hopes not only of our own people but of the world.

The United States enjoyed the spiritual leadership of the world until the Senate of the United States failed to ratify the treaty by which the belligerent nations sought to effect the settlements for which they had fought throughout the war. It is inconceivable that at this supreme crisis and final turning point in the international relations of the whole world, when the results of the Great War are by no means determined and are still questionable and dependent upon events which no man can foresee or count upon, the United States should withdraw from the concert of progressive and enlightened nations by which Germany was defeated and all similar Governments (if the world be so unhappy as to contain any) warned of the consequences of any attempt of a like iniquity, and yet that is the effect of the course the Senate of the

United States has taken with regard to the Treaty of Versailles.

Germany is beaten, but we are still at war with her and the old stage is reset for a repetition of the old plot. It is now ready for a resumption of the old offensive and defensive alliances which made settled peace impossible. It is now open again to every sort of intrigue. The old spies are free to resume their former abominable activities. They are again at liberty to make it impossible for Governments to be sure what mischief is being worked among their own people, what internal disorders are being fomented. Without the Covenant of the League of Nations there may be as many secret treaties as ever, to destroy the confidence of Governments in each other, and their validity cannot be questioned.

None of the objects we professed to be fighting for has been secured or can be made certain of without this Nation's ratification of the treaty and its entry into the Covenant. This Nation entered the Great War to vindicate its own rights and to protect and preserve free government. It went into the war to see it through to the end, and the end has not yet come. It went into the war to make an end of militarism, to furnish guarantees to weak nations and to make a just and lasting peace.

It entered it with noble enthusiasms. Five of the leading belligerents have accepted the treaty, and formal ratifications soon will be exchanged. The question is whether this country will enter, and enter wholeheartedly. If it does not do so, the United States and Germany will play a lone hand in the world. The maintenance of the peace of the world and the effective execution of the treaty depend upon the whole-hearted participation of the United States.

I am not stating it as a matter of power. The point is that the United States is the only Nation which has sufficient moral force with the rest of the world to guarantee the substitution of discussion for war. If we keep out of this agreement, if we do not give our guarantees, then another attempt will be made to crush the new nations of Europe.

I do not believe that this is what the people of this country wish or will be satisfied with. Personally, I do not accept the action of the Senate of the United States as the decision of the Nation. I have asserted from the first that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country desire the ratification of the treaty, and my impression to that effect has recently been confirmed by the unmistakable evidences of public opinion given during my visit to seventeen of the states.

I have endeavored to make it plain that if the Senate wishes to say what the undoubted meaning of the League is, I shall have no objection. There can be no reasonable objection to interpretations accompanying the act of ratification itself. But when the treaty is acted upon, I must know whether it means that we have ratified or rejected it. We can not rewrite this treaty. We must take it without changes which alter its meaning, or leave it, and then, after the rest of the world has signed it, we must face the unthinkable task of making another and separate kind of treaty with Germany. But no mere assertions with regard to the wish and opinion of the country are credited.

If there is any doubt as to what the people of the country think on this vital matter, the clear and single way out is to submit it for determination at the next election to the voters of the Nation, to give the next election the form of a great and solemn referendum,

a referendum as to the part the United States is to play in completing the settlements of the war and in the prevention in the future of such outrages as Germany attempted to perpetrate.

We have no more moral right to refuse now to take part in the execution and administration of these settlements than we had to refuse to take part in the fighting of the last few weeks of the war which brought victory and made it possible to dictate to Germany what the settlements should be. Our fidelity to our associates in the war is in question, and the whole future of mankind. It will be heartening to the whole world to know the attitude and purpose of the people of the United States.

I spoke just now of the spiritual leadership of the United States, thinking of international affairs. But there is another spiritual leadership which is open to us and which we can assume. The world has been made safe for democracy, but democracy has not been finally vindicated. All sorts of crime are being committed in its name, all sorts of preposterous perversions of its doctrines and practices are being attempted. This, in my judgment, is to be the great privilege of the democracy of the United States—to show that it can lead the way in the solution of the great social and industrial problems of our time and lead the way to a happy, settled order of life as well as to political liberty.

The program for this achievement we must attempt to formulate, and in carrying it out we shall do more than can be done in any other way to sweep out of existence the tyrannous and arbitrary forms of power which are now masquerading under the name of popular government.

Whenever we look back to Andrew Jackson we should draw fresh inspiration from his character and example. His mind grasped with such a splendid definiteness and firmness the principles of national authority and national action. He was so indomitable in his purpose to give reality to the principles of the Government that this is a very fortunate time to recall his career and to renew our vows of faithfulness to the principles and the pure practices of democracy. I rejoice to join you in this renewal of faith and purpose. I hope that the whole evening may be of the happiest results as regards the fortunes of our party and the Nation. With cordial regard,

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

CABLEGRAM ADDRESSED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN *

JANUARY 13, 1920

In compliance with Article V of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which went into effect at the same time as the Treaty of Versailles of June 28, 1919, of which it is a part, the President of the United States, acting on behalf of those nations which have deposited their instruments of ratifications in Paris as certified in a *procès verbal* drawn up by the French Government, dated January 10, 1920, has the honor to inform the Government of Great Britain that the first meeting of the Council of the League of

* The same cablegram was sent to the governments of the other nations which had deposited "instruments of ratification" in Paris: France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil and Spain.

Nations will be held in Paris at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Friday, January 16, at 10:30 A.M.

The President ventures to hope that the Government of Great Britain will be in a position to send a representative to this first meeting. He feels that it is unnecessary for him to point out the deep significance attached to this meeting, or the importance which it must assume in the eyes of the world.

It will mark the beginning of a new era in international coöperation and the first great step toward the ideal concert of nations. It will bring the League of Nations into being as a living force devoted to the task of assisting the peoples of all countries in their desire for peace, prosperity and happiness.

The President is convinced that its progress will accord with the noble purposes to which it is dedicated.

LETTER TO SENATOR HITCHCOCK

JANUARY 26, 1920

MY DEAR SENATOR HITCHCOCK:

I have greatly appreciated your thoughtful kindness in keeping me informed concerning the conferences you and some of your colleagues have had with spokesmen of the Republican Party concerning the possibility of ratification of the treaty of peace, and send this line in special appreciative acknowledgment of your letter of the 22d. I return the clipping you were kind enough to inclose.

To the substance of it I, of course, adhere. I am bound to. Like yourself I am solemnly sworn to obey and maintain the Constitution of the United States. But I think the form of it very unfortunate. Any

reservation or resolution stating that "the United States assumes no obligation under such and such an article unless or except" would, I am sure, chill our relationship with the nations with which we expect to be associated in the great enterprise of maintaining the world's peace.

That association must in any case, my dear Senator, involve very serious and far-reaching implications of honor and duty which I am sure we shall never in fact be desirous of ignoring. It is the more important not to create the impression that we are trying to escape obligations.

But I realize that negative criticism is not all that is called for in so serious a matter. I am happy to be able to add, therefore, that I have once more gone over the reservations proposed by yourself, the copy of which I return herewith, and am glad to say that I can accept them as they stand.

I have never seen the slightest reason to doubt the good faith of our associates in the war, nor ever had the slightest reason to fear that any nation would seek to enlarge our obligations under the covenant of the League of Nations, or seek to commit us to lines of action which, under our Constitution, only the Congress of the United States can in the last analysis decide.

May I suggest that with regard to the possible withdrawal of the United States it would be wise to give to the President the right to act upon a resolution of Congress in the matter of withdrawal? In other words, it would seem to be permissible and advisable that any resolution giving notice of withdrawal should be a joint rather than a concurrent resolution.

I doubt whether the President can be deprived of his veto power under the Constitution, even with his

own consent. The use of a joint resolution would permit the President, who is, of course, charged by the Constitution with the conduct of foreign policy, to merely exercise a voice in saying whether so important a step as withdrawal from the League of Nations should be accomplished by a majority or by a two-thirds vote.

The Constitution itself providing that the legislative body was to be consulted in treaty making and having prescribed a two-thirds vote in such cases, it seems to me that there should be no unnecessary departure from the method there indicated.

I see no objection to a frank statement that the United States can accept a mandate with regard to any territory under Article 13, Part 1, or any other provision of the treaty of peace, only by the direct authority and action of the Congress of the United States.

I hope, my dear Senator, that you will never hesitate to call upon me for any assistance that I can render in this or any other public matter.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Inclosure referred to:

"2. The United States assumes no obligation to employ its military or naval forces or the economic boycott to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country under the provisions of Article 10, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any other article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has

the sole power to declare war, shall, by act or joint resolution, so provide. Nothing herein shall be deemed to impair the obligation in Article 16 concerning the economic boycott."

Proposed substitute reservations by Mr. Hitchcock to take the place of those proposed by Senator Lodge:

"That any member nation proposing to withdraw from the League on two years' notice is the sole judge as to whether its obligations referred to in Article 1 of the League of Nations have been performed as required in said article.

"That no member nation is required to submit to the League, its Council, or its Assembly, for decision, report, or recommendation, any matter which it considers to be in international law a domestic question such as immigration, labor, tariff, or other matter relating to its internal or coastwise affairs.

"That the national policy of the United States known as the Monroe Doctrine, as announced and interpreted by the United States, is not in any way impaired or affected by the Covenant of the League of Nations and is not subject to any decision, report, or inquiry by the Council or Assembly.

"That the advice mentioned in Article X of the Covenant of the League which the Council may give to the member nations as to the employment of their naval and military forces is merely advice which each member nation is free to accept or reject according to the conscience and judgment of its then existing Government, and in the United States this advice can only be accepted by action of the Congress at the time in being, Congress alone under the Constitution of the United States having the power to declare war.

"That in case of a dispute between members of the

League if one of them have self-governing colonies, dominions, or parts which have representation in the Assembly, each and all are to be considered parties to the dispute, and the same shall be the rule if one of the parties to the dispute is a self-governing colony, dominion, or part, in which case all other self-governing colonies, dominions, or parts, as well as the nation as a whole, shall be considered parties to the dispute, and each and all shall be disqualified from having their votes counted in case of any inquiry on said dispute made by the Assembly."

LETTER TO SENATOR HITCHCOCK

March 8, 1920

My dear Senator Hitchcock:

I understand that one or two of your colleagues do me the honor of desiring to know what my views are with reference to Article X of the League of Nations and the effect upon the League of the adoption of certain reservations to that article. I welcome the opportunity to throw any light I can upon a subject which has become so singularly beclouded by misapprehensions and misinterpretations of every kind.

There is no escaping the moral obligations which are expressed in positive terms in this article of the Covenant. We won a moral victory over Germany, far greater even than the military victory won on the field of battle, because the opinion of the whole world swung to our support and the support of the nations associated with us in the great struggle. It did so because of our common profession and promise that we meant to establish an organization of peace, which

should make it certain that the combined power of free nations would check every invasion of right, and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the people directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

This promise and assurance were written into the preliminaries of the armistice and into the preliminaries of the peace itself and constitute one of the most sacred obligations ever assumed by any nation or body of nations. It is unthinkable that America should set the example of ignoring such a solemn moral engagement.

For myself, I feel that I could not look the soldiers of our gallant armies in the face again if I did not do everything in my power to remove every obstacle that lies in the way of the adoption of this particular article of the Covenant, because we made these pledges to them as well as to the rest of the world, and it was to this cause they deemed themselves devoted in a spirit of crusaders. I should be forever unfaithful to them if I did not do my utmost to fulfill the high purpose for which they fought.

I think, my dear Senator, we can dismiss from our minds the idea that it is necessary to stipulate in connection with Article X the constitutional methods we should use in fulfilling our obligations under it. We gain nothing by such stipulations and secure nothing which is not already secured. It was understood as a matter of course at the conference in Paris that whatever obligations any Government assumed or whatever duties it understood under the treaty would of course have to be fulfilled by its usual and established constitutional methods of action.

Once or twice in meetings of the conference, when the treaty was under consideration, "reservations" were made to that effect by the representatives of individual powers, and those "reservations" were invariably received in the way in which men who have met for business and not for talk always receive acts of scrupulous supererogation—listened to with indifferent silence, as such men listen to what is a matter of course and was not necessary to say.

There can be no objection to explaining again what our constitutional method is and that our Congress alone can declare or determine the causes or occasions for war, and that it alone can authorize the use of the armed forces of the United States on land or on the sea. But to make such a declaration would certainly be a work of supererogation.

I am sorry to say that the reservations that have come under my notice are almost without exception not interpretations of the articles to which it is proposed to attach them but in effect virtual nullifications of those articles.

Any reservation which seeks to deprive the League of Nations of the force of Article X cuts at the heart and life of the Covenant itself. Any League of Nations which does not guarantee as a matter of incontestable right the political independence and integrity of each of its members might be hardly more than a futile scrap of paper, as ineffective in operation as the agreement between Belgium and Germany which the Germans violated in 1914.

Article X, as written into the Treaty of Versailles, represents the renunciation by Great Britain and Japan, which before the war had begun to find so many interests in common in the Pacific; by France, by Italy, by all the great fighting powers of the world

of the old pretensions of political conquest and territorial aggrandizement. It is a new doctrine in the world's affairs and must be recognized or there is no secure basis for the peace which the whole world so desperately needs.

If Article X is not adopted and acted upon, the Governments which reject it will, I think, be guilty of bad faith to their people, whom they induced to make the infinite sacrifices of the war by the pledge that they would be fighting to redeem the world from the old order of force and aggression. They will be acting also in bad faith to the opinion of the world at large, to which they appealed for support in a concerted stand against the aggressions and pretensions of Germany.

If we were to reject Article X, or so to weaken it as to take its full force out of it, it would mark us as desiring to return to the old world of jealous rivalry and misunderstandings from which our gallant soldiers have rescued us and would leave us without any vision or new conception of justice and peace. We would have learned no lesson from the war, but gained only the regret that it had involved us in its maelstrom of suffering. If America has awakened, as the rest of the world has, to the vision of a new day in which the mistakes of the past are to be corrected, it will welcome the opportunity to share the responsibilities of Article X.

It must not be forgotten, Senator, that the article constitutes a renunciation of all ambition on the part of powerful nations with whom we were associated in the war. It is by no means certain that without this article any such renunciation will take place. Militaristic ambitions and imperialistic policies are by no means dead, even in counsels of the nations whom we

most trust and with whom we most desire to be associated in the tasks of peace.

Throughout the sessions of the conference in Paris it was evident that a militaristic party, under the most influential leadership, was seeking to gain ascendancy in the counsels of France. They were defeated then, but are in control now. The chief arguments advanced in Paris in support of the Italian claims on the Adriatic were strategic arguments; that is to say, military arguments, which had at their back the thought of naval supremacy in that sea. For my own part I am as intolerant of imperialistic designs on the part of other nations as I was of such designs on the part of Germany.

The choice is between two ideals; on the one hand, the ideal of democracy, which represents the rights of free peoples everywhere to govern themselves, and, on the other hand, the ideal of imperialism, which seeks to dominate by force and unjust power, an ideal which is by no means dead and which is earnestly held in many quarters still.

Every imperialistic influence in Europe was hostile to the embodiment of Article X, in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and its defeat now would mark the complete consummation of their efforts to nullify the treaty. I hold the doctrine of Article X, as the essence of Americanism. We cannot repudiate it or weaken it without at the same time repudiating our own principles.

The imperialist wants no League of Nations, but if, in response to the universal cry of the masses everywhere, there is to be one, he is interested to secure one suited to his own purposes, one that will permit him to continue the historic game of pawns and peoples—the juggling of provinces, the old balance of power,

and the inevitable wars attendant upon these things.

The reservation proposed would perpetuate the old order. Does any one really want to see the old game played again? Can any one really venture to take part in reviving the old order? The enemies of a League of Nations have by every true instinct centered their efforts against Article X, for it is undoubtedly the foundation of the whole structure. It is the bulwark, and the only bulwark, of the rising democracy of the world against the forces of imperialism and reaction.

Either we should enter the League fearlessly, accepting the responsibility and not fearing the rôle of leadership, which we now enjoy, contributing our efforts toward establishing a just and permanent peace, or we should retire as gracefully as possible from the great concert of powers by which the world was saved. For my own part, I am not willing to trust to the counsel of diplomats the working out of any salvation of the world from the things which it has suffered.

I believe that when the full significance of this great question has been generally apprehended, obstacles will seem insignificant before the opportunity, a great and glorious opportunity, to contribute our overwhelming moral and material force to the establishment of an international régime in which our own ideals of justice and right may be made to prevail and the nations of the world be allowed a peaceful development under conditions of order and safety hitherto impossible.

I need not say, Senator, that I have given a great deal of thought to the whole matter of reservations proposed in connection with the ratification of the treaty and particularly that portion of the treaty which contains the Covenant of the League of Na-

tions, and I have been struck by the fact that practically every so-called reservation was in effect a rather sweeping nullification of the terms of the treaty itself.

I hear of reservationists and mild-reservationists, but I cannot understand the difference between a nullifier and a mild-nullifier. Our responsibility as a nation in this turning point of history is an overwhelming one, and if I had the opportunity, I would beg every one concerned to consider the matter in the light of what it is possible to accomplish for humanity, rather than in the light of special national interest.

If I have been truly informed concerning the desire of some of your colleagues to know my views in this matter, I would be very glad if you should show this letter to them.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

HON. GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK,
United States Senate.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS VETOING RESOLUTION TO DECLARE PEACE WITH GERMANY AND AUSTRIA–HUNGARY

MAY 27, 1920

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I herewith return, without my signature, House Joint Resolution 327, intended to repeal the Joint Resolution of April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany, and the Joint Resolution of December 7, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and the Austro-Hungarian Government, and to declare a

state of peace. I have not felt at liberty to sign this joint resolution because I can not bring myself to become party to an action which would place ineffaceable stain upon the gallantry and honor of the United States.

The resolution seeks to establish peace with the German Empire without exacting from the German Government any action by way of setting right the infinite wrongs which it did to the peoples whom it attacked and whom we professed it our purpose to assist when we entered the war. Have we sacrificed the lives of more than one hundred thousand Americans and ruined the lives of thousands of others and brought upon thousands of American families an unhappiness that can never end for purposes which we do not care to state or take further steps to attain?

The attainment of these purposes is provided for in the Treaty of Versailles by terms deemed adequate by the leading statesmen and experts of all the great peoples who were associated in the war against Germany. Do we now not care to join in the effort to secure them?

We entered the war most reluctantly. Our people were profoundly disinclined to take part in a European war, and at last did so, only because they became convinced that it could not in truth be regarded as only a European war, but must be regarded as a war in which civilization itself was involved and human rights of every kind as against a belligerent Government. Moreover, when we entered the war we set forth very definitely the purposes for which we entered, partly because we did not wish to be considered as merely taking part in a European contest. This Joint Resolution which I return does not seek to accomplish any of these objects, but in effect makes a

complete surrender of the rights of the United States so far as the German Government is concerned.

A treaty of peace was signed at Versailles on the 28th of June last which did seek to accomplish the objects which we had declared to be in our minds, because all the great Governments and peoples which united against Germany had adopted our declarations of purpose as their own and had in solemn form embodied them in communications to the German Government preliminary to the Armistice of November 11, 1918. But the treaty as signed at Versailles has been rejected by the Senate of the United States, though it has been ratified by Germany. By that rejection and by its methods we have in effect declared that we wish to draw apart and pursue objects and interests of our own, unhampered by any connections of interest or of purpose with other Governments and peoples.

Notwithstanding the fact that upon our entrance into the war we professed to be seeking to assist in the maintenance of common interests, nothing is said in this resolution about the freedom of navigation upon the seas, or the reduction of armaments, or the vindication of the rights of Belgium, or the rectification of wrongs done to France, or the release of the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire from the intolerable subjugation which they have had for so many generations to endure, or the establishment of an independent Polish state, or the continued maintenance of any kind of understanding among the great powers of the world which would be calculated to prevent in the future such outrages as Germany attempted and in part consummated.

We have now, in effect, declared that we do not care to take any further risks or to assume any further

responsibilities with regard to the freedom of nations or the sacredness of international obligations or the safety of independent peoples. Such a peace with Germany—a peace in which none of the essential interests which we had at heart when we entered the war is safeguarded—is, or ought to be, inconceivable, as inconsistent with the dignity of the United States, with the rights and liberties of her citizens, and with the very fundamental conditions of civilization.

I hope that in these statements I have sufficiently set forth the reasons why I have felt it incumbent upon me to withhold my signature.

WOODROW WILSON.

APPEAL TO MAKE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION A REFERENDUM ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

OCTOBER 3, 1920

MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

The issues of the present campaign are of such tremendous importance, of such far-reaching significance for the influence of the country and the development of its future relations, and I have necessarily had so much to do with their development, that I am sure you will think it natural and proper that I should address to you a few words concerning them.

Every one who sincerely believes in government by the people must rejoice at the turn affairs have taken in regard to this campaign. This election is to be a genuine national referendum. The determination of a great policy upon which the influence and authority of the United States in the world must depend is not

to be left to groups of politicians of either party, but is to be referred to the people themselves for a sovereign mandate to their representatives. They are to instruct their own Government what they wish done.

The chief question that is put to you is, of course: Do you want your country's honor vindicated and the Treaty of Versailles ratified? Do you in particular approve of the League of Nations as organized and empowered in that treaty? And do you wish to see the United States play its responsible part in it?

You have been grossly misled with regard to the treaty, and particularly with regard to the proposed character of the League of Nations, by those who have assumed the serious responsibility of opposing it. They have gone so far that those who have spent their lives, as I have spent my life, in familiarizing themselves with the history and traditions and policies of the Nation, must stand amazed at the gross ignorance and impudent audacity which have led them to attempt to invent an "Americanism" of their own, which has no foundation whatever in any of the authentic traditions of the Government.

Americanism, as they conceive it, reverses the whole process of the last few tragical years. It would substitute America for Prussia in the policy of isolation and defiant segregation. Their conception of the dignity of the Nation and its interest is that we should stand apart and watch for opportunities to advance our own interests, involve ourselves in no responsibility for the maintenance of the right in the world or for the continued vindication of any of the things for which we entered the war to fight.

The conception of the great creators of the Government was absolutely opposite to this. They thought of America as the light of the world, as created to

lead the world in the assertion of the rights of peoples and the rights of free nations; as destined to set a responsible example to all the world of what free government is and can do for the maintenance of right standards, both national and international.

This light the opponents of the League would quench. They would relegate the United States to a subordinate rôle in the affairs of the world.

Why should we be afraid of responsibilities which we are qualified to sustain and which the whole of our history has constituted a promise to the world we would sustain?

This is the most momentous issue that has ever been presented to the people of the United States, and I do not doubt that the hope of the world will be verified by an absolute assertion by the voters of the country of the determination of the United States to live up to all the great expectations which they created by entering the war and enabling the other great nations of the world to bring it to a victorious conclusion, to the confusion of Prussianism and everything that arises out of Prussianism. Surely we shall not fail to keep the promise sealed in the death and sacrifice of our incomparable soldiers, sailors and marines who await our verdict beneath the sod of France.

Those who do not care to tell you the truth about the League of Nations tell you that Article X of the Covenant of the League would make it possible for other nations to lead us into war, whether we will it by our own independent judgment or not. This is absolutely false. There is nothing in the Covenant which in the least interferes with or impairs the rights of Congress to declare war or not declare war, according to its own independent judgment, as our Constitution provides.

Those who drew the Covenant of the League were careful that it should contain nothing which interfered with or impaired the constitutional arrangements of any of the great nations which are to constitute its members. They would have been amazed and indignant at the things that are now being ignorantly said about this great and sincere document.

The whole world will wait for your verdict in November as it would wait for an intimation of what its future is to be.

WOODROW WILSON.

EIGHTH ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

DECEMBER 7, 1920

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

When I addressed myself to performing the duty laid upon the President by the Constitution to present to you an annual report on the state of the Union, I found my thought dominated by an immortal sentence of Abraham Lincoln's,

> "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it,"

a sentence immortal because it embodies in a form of utter simplicity and purity the essential faith of the Nation, the faith in which it was conceived and the faith in which it has grown to glory and power. With that faith and the birth of a nation founded upon it came the hope into the world that a new order would prevail throughout the affairs of mankind, an order in which reason and right would take precedence of covetousness and force, and I believe that I express

the wish and purpose of every thoughtful American when I say that this sentence marks for us in the plainest manner the part we should play alike in the arrangement of our domestic affairs and in our exercise of influence upon the affairs of the world. By this faith, and by this faith alone, can the world be lifted out of its present confusion and despair. It was this faith which prevailed over the wicked force of Germany. You will remember that the beginning of the end of the war came when the German people found themselves face to face with the conscience of the world and realized that right was everywhere arrayed against the wrong that their Government was attempting to perpetrate. I think, therefore, that it is true to say that this was the faith which won the war. Certainly this is the faith with which our gallant men went into the field and out upon the seas to make sure of victory.

This is the mission upon which democracy came into the world. Democracy is an assertion of the right of the individual to live and to be treated justly as against any attempt on the part of any combination of individuals to make laws which will overburden him or which will destroy his equality among his fellows in the matter of right or privilege, and I think we all realize that the day has come when democracy is being put upon its final test. The old world is just now suffering from a wanton rejection of the principle of democracy and a substitution of the principle of autocracy as asserted in the name but without the authority and sanction of the multitude. This is the time of all others when democracy should prove its purity and its spiritual power to prevail. It is surely the manifest destiny of the United States to lead in the attempt to make this spirit prevail.

There are two ways in which the United States can

assist to accomplish this great object: First, by offering the example within her own borders of the will and power of democracy to make and enforce laws which are unquestionably just and which are equal in their administration—laws which secure its full right to labor and yet at the same time safeguard the integrity of property, and particularly of that property which is devoted to the development of industry and the increase of the necessary wealth of the world. Second, by standing for right and justice as towards individual nations. The law of democracy is for the protection of the weak and the influence of every democracy in the world should be for the protection of the weak nation, the nation which is struggling toward its right and toward its proper recognition and privilege in the family of nations. The United States cannot refuse this rôle of champion without putting the stigma of rejection upon the great and devoted men who brought its Government into existence and established it in the face of almost universal opposition and intrigue, even in the face of wanton force, as, for example, against the Orders in Council of Great Britain and the arbitrary Napoleonic Decrees which involved us in what we know as the War of 1812. I urge you to consider that the display of an immediate disposition on the part of the Congress to remedy any injustices or evils that may have shown themselves in our own national life will afford the most effectual offset to the forces of chaos and tyranny which are playing so disastrous a part in the fortunes of the free peoples of more than one part of the world. The United States is of necessity the sample democracy of the world, and the triumph of democracy depends upon its success.

Recovery from the disturbing and sometimes dis-

astrous effects of the late war has been exceedingly slow on the other side of the water and has given promise, I venture to say, of early completion only in our own fortunate country; but even with us the recovery halts and is impeded at times and there are immediately serviceable acts of legislation which it seems to me ought to attempt to assist that recovery and prove the indestructible recuperative force of a great government of the people. One of these is to prove that a great democracy can keep house as successfully and in as businesslike a fashion as any other government. It seems to me that the first step toward proving this is to supply ourselves with a systematic method of handling our estimates and expenditures and bringing them to the point where they will not be an unnecessary strain upon our income or necessitate unreasonable taxation, in other words, a workable budget system, and I respectfully suggest that two elements are essential to such a system; namely, not only that the proposal of appropriations should be in the hands of a single body, such as a single appropriations committee in each house of the Congress, but also that this body should be brought into such coöperation with the departments of the Government and with the Treasury of the United States as would enable it to act upon a complete conspectus of the needs of the Government and the resources from which it must draw its income. I reluctantly vetoed the Budget Bill passed by the last session of the Congress because of a constitutional objection. The House of Representatives subsequently modified the bill in order to meet this objection. In the revised form I believe that the bill, coupled with action already taken by the Congress to revise its rules and procedure, furnishes the foundations for an effective national budget system. I earnestly

hope, therefore, that one of the first steps taken by the present session of the Congress will be to pass the Budget Bill.

The nation's finances have shown marked improvement during the past year. The total ordinary receipts of $6,694,000,000 for the fiscal year 1920 exceeded those for 1919 by $1,542,000,000, while the total net ordinary expenditures decreased from $18,514,000,000 to $6,403,000,000. The gross public debt, which reached its highest point on August 31, 1919, when it was $26,596,000,000, had dropped on November 30, 1920, to $24,175,000,000. There has also been a marked decrease in holdings of Government war securities by the banking institutions of the country, as well as in the amount of bills held by the Federal Reserve Banks secured by Government war obligations. This fortunate result has relieved the banks and left them freer to finance the needs of agriculture, industry and commerce. It has been due in large part to the reduction of the public debt, especially of the floating debt, but more particularly to the improved distribution of Government securities among permanent investors. The cessation of the Government's borrowings except through short-term certificates of indebtedness has been a matter of great consequence to the people of the country at large as well as to the holders of Liberty Bonds and Victory Notes, and has had an important bearing on the matter of effective credit control. The year has been characterized by the progressive withdrawal of the Treasury from the domestic credit market and from a position of dominant influence in that market. The future course will necessarily depend upon the extent to which economics are practiced and upon the burdens placed upon the Treasury, as well as upon industrial develop-

ments and the maintenance of tax receipts at a sufficiently high level.

The fundamental fact which at present dominates the Government's financial situation is that seven and a half billions of its war indebtedness mature within the next two and a half years. Of this amount, two and a half billions are floating debt and five billions Victory Notes and War Savings Certificates. The fiscal program of the Government must be determined with reference to these maturities. Sound policy demands that Government expenditures be reduced to the lowest amount which will permit the various services to operate efficiently and that Government receipts from taxes and salvage be maintained sufficiently high to provide for current requirements, including interest and sinking fund charges on the public debt, and at the same time retire the floating debt and part of the Victory Loan before maturity. With rigid economy, vigorous salvage operations and adequate revenues from taxation, a surplus of current receipts over current expenditures can be realized and should be applied to the floating debt. All branches of the Government should coöperate to see that this programme is realized.

I cannot overemphasize the necessity of economy in Government appropriations and expenditures and the avoidance by the Congress of practices which take money from the Treasury by indefinite or revolving fund appropriations. The estimates for the present year show that over a billion dollars of expenditures were authorized by the last Congress in addition to the amounts shown in the usual compiled statements of appropriations. This strikingly illustrates the importance of making direct and specific appropriations. The relation between the current receipts and current

expenditures of the Government during the present fiscal year, as well as during the last half of the last fiscal year, has been disturbed by the extraordinary burdens thrown upon the Treasury by the Transportation Act, in connection with the return of the railroads to private control. Over $600,000,000 has already been paid to the railroads under this act—$350,000,000 during the present fiscal year; and it is estimated that further payments aggregating possibly $650,000,000 must still be made to the railroads during the current year. It is obvious that these large payments have already seriously limited the Government's progress in retiring the floating debt.

Closely connected with this, it seems to me, is the necessity for an immediate consideration of the revision of our tax laws. Simplification of the income and profits taxes has become an immediate necessity. These taxes performed an indispensable service during the war. The need for their simplification, however, is very great, in order to save the taxpayer inconvenience and expense and in order to make his liability more certain and definite. Other and more detailed recommendations with regard to taxes will no doubt be laid before you by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

It is my privilege to draw to the attention of Congress for very sympathetic consideration the problem of providing adequate facilities for the care and treatment of former members of the military and naval forces who are sick or disabled as the result of their participation in the war. These heroic men can never be paid in money for the service they patriotically rendered the nation. Their reward will lie rather in realization of the fact that they vindicated the rights of their country and aided in safeguarding civilization.

The nation's gratitude must be effectively revealed to them by the most ample provision for their medical care and treatment as well as for their vocational training and placement. The time has come when a more complete program can be formulated and more satisfactorily administered for their treatment and training, and I earnestly urge that the Congress give the matter its early consideration. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Board for Vocational Education will outline in their annual reports proposals covering medical care and rehabilitation which I am sure will engage your earnest study and command your most generous support.

Permit me to emphasize once more the need for action upon certain matters upon which I dwelt at some length in my message to the Second Session of the Sixty-sixth Congress: the necessity, for example, of encouraging the manufacture of dyestuffs and related chemicals; the importance of doing everything possible to promote agricultural production along economic lines, to improve agricultural marketing and to make rural life more attractive and healthful; the need for a law regulating cold storage in such a way as to limit the time during which goods may be kept in storage, prescribing the method of disposing of them if kept beyond the permitted period, and requiring goods released from storage in all cases to bear the date of their receipt. It would also be most serviceable if it were provided that all goods released from cold storage for interstate shipment should have plainly marked upon each package the selling or market price at which they went into storage, in order that the purchaser might be able to learn what profits stood between him and the producer or the wholesale dealer. Indeed, it would be very serviceable to the

public if all goods destined for interstate commerce were made to carry upon every packing case whose form made it possible a plain statement of the price at which they left the hands of the producer. I respectfully call your attention, also, to the recommendations of the message referred to with regard to a federal license for all corporations engaged in interstate commerce.

In brief, the immediate legislative need of the time is the removal of all obstacles to the realization of the best ambitions of our people in their several classes of employment and the strengthening of all instrumentalities by which difficulties are to be met and removed and justice dealt out, whether by law or by some form of mediation and conciliation. I do not feel it to be my privilege at present to suggest the detailed and particular methods by which these objects may be attained, but I have faith that the inquiries of your several committees will discover the way and the method.

In response to what I believe to be the impulse of sympathy and opinion throughout the United States, I earnestly suggest that the Congress authorize the Treasury of the United States to make to the struggling Government of Armenia such a loan as was made to several of the Allied Governments during the war; and I would also suggest that it would be desirable to provide in the legislation itself that the expenditure of the money thus loaned should be under the supervision of a commission or at least a commissioner from the United States, in order that revolutionary tendencies within Armenia itself might not be afforded by the loan a further tempting opportunity.

Allow me to call your attention to the fact that the people of the Philippine Islands have succeeded in

maintaining a stable Government since the last action of the Congress in their behalf, and have thus fulfilled the condition set by the Congress as precedent to a consideration of granting independence to the Islands. I respectfully submit that this condition precedent having been fulfilled, it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those Islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet.

I have not so much laid before you a series of recommendations, gentlemen, as sought to utter a confession of faith, of the faith in which I was bred and which it is my solemn purpose to stand by until my last fighting day. I believe this to be the faith of America, the faith of the future, and of all the victories which await national action in the days to come, whether in America or elsewhere.

VETO OF THE EMERGENCY TARIFF BILL

MARCH 3, 1921

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I return herewith without my approval H.R. 15,275, an act imposing temporary duties upon certain agricultural products to meet present emergencies, to provide revenues and for other purposes.

The title of this measure indicates that it has several purposes. The report of the Committee on Ways and Means reveals that its principal object is to furnish relief to certain producers in the nation who have been unable to discover satisfactory markets in foreign countries for their products and whose prices have fallen.

Very little reflection would lead any one to conclude that the measure would not furnish in any substantial degree the relief sought by the producers of most of the staple commodities which it covers. This Nation has been for very many years a large exporter of agricultural products. For nearly a generation before it entered the European war its exports exceeded its imports of agricultural commodities by from approximately $200,000,000 to more than $500,000,000. In recent years this excess has greatly increased, and in 1919 reached the huge total of $1,904,292,000. The excess of exports of staple products is especially marked. In 1913 the Nation imported 783,481 bushels of wheat, valued at $670,931, and in 1920, 35,848,648 bushels, worth $75,398,834, while it exported in 1913, 99,508,968 bushels, worth $95,098,838, and in 1920, 218,280,231 bushels, valued at $596,957,796.

In the year 1913 it imported 85,183 barrels of wheat flour, valued at $347,877, and in 1920, 800,788 barrels, valued at $8,669,300, while it exported in the first year 12,278,206 barrels, valued at $56,865,444, and in 1920, 19,853,952 barrels, valued at $224,472,448. In 1913 it imported $3,888,604 worth of corn, and in 1920, $9,257,377 worth, while its exports in the first year were valued at $26,515,146, and in 1920 at $26,453,681. Of unmanufactured cotton in 1920 it imported approximately 300,000,000 pounds, valued at $138,743,000, while it exported more than 3,179,000,000 pounds, worth over $1,136,000,000. Of preserved milk in the same year it imported $3,331,812 worth and exported $65,239,020 worth. Its imports in the same year of sugar and wool of course greatly exceeded its exports.

It is obvious that for the commodities, except sugar and wool, mentioned in the measure which make up the

greater part of our agricultural international trade, the imports can have little or no effect upon the prices of the domestic products. This is strikingly true of such commodities as wheat and corn. The imports of wheat have come mainly from Canada and Argentina and have not competed with the domestic crop. Rather they have supplemented it. The domestic demand has been for specific classes and qualities of foreign wheat to meet particular milling and planting needs. They are a small fraction of our total production and of our wheat exports. The price of wheat is a world price; and it is a matter of little moment whether the Canadian wheat goes directly into the markets of the other countries of the world or indirectly through this country. The relatively small quantity of corn imported into this country has a specialized use and does not come into competition with the domestic commodity.

The situation in which many of the farmers find themselves can not be remedied by a measure of this sort. This is doubtless generally understood. There is no short way out of existing conditions, and measures of this sort can only have the effect of deceiving the farmers and of raising false hopes among them. Actual relief can come only from the adoption of constructive measures of a broader scope, from the restoration of peace everywhere in the world, the resumption of normal industrial pursuits, the recovery particularly of Europe, and the discovery there of additional credit foundations on the basis of which her people may arrange to take from farmers and other producers of this Nation a greater part of their surplus production.

One does not pay a compliment to the American farmer who attempts to alarm him by dangers from

foreign competition. The American farmers are the most effective agricultural producers in the world. Their production is several times as great for each worker as that of their principal foreign rivals. This grows out of the intelligence of the American farmer, the nature of his agricultural practices and economy and the fact that he has the assistance of scientific and practical agencies, which in respect to variety of activity, of personnel and of financial support exceed those of any other two or three nations in the world combined. There is little doubt that the farmers of this Nation will not only continue mainly to supply the home demand, but will be increasingly called upon to supply a large part of the needs of the rest of the world.

What the farmer now needs is not only a better system of domestic marketing and credit, but especially larger foreign markets for his surplus products.

Clearly, measures of this sort will not conduce to an expansion of the foreign market. It is not a little singular that a measure which strikes a blow at our foreign trade should follow so closely upon the action of Congress directing the resumption of certain activities of the War Finance Corporation, especially at the urgent insistence of representatives of the farming interests, who believed that its resumption would improve foreign marketing. Indeed, when one surveys recent activities in the foreign field, and measures enacted affecting the foreign trade, one cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that there is consistency only in their contradictions and inconsistencies.

We have been vigorously building up a great merchant marine and providing for improvement of marketing in foreign countries by the passage of an export trade law and of measures for the promotion of banking agencies in foreign countries. Now it

appears that we propose to render these measures abortive in whole or in part.

I imagine there is little doubt that while this measure is temporary, it is intended as a foundation for action of a similar nature of a very general and permanent character. It would seem to be designed to pave the way for such action. If there ever was a time when America had anything to fear from foreign competition that time has passed. I cannot believe that American producers, who in most respects are the most effective in the world, can have any dread of competition when they view the fact that their country has come through the great struggle of the last few years, relatively speaking, untouched, while their principal competitors are in varying degrees sadly stricken and laboring under adverse conditions from which they will not recover for many years.

Changes of a very radical character have taken place. The United States has become a great creditor Nation. She has lent certain Governments of Europe more than $9,000,000,000, and as a result of the enormous excess of our exports there is an additional commercial indebtedness of foreign nations to our own of perhaps not less than $4,000,000,000. There are only three ways in which Europe can meet her part of her indebtedness, namely, by the establishment of private credits, by the shipment of gold, or of commodities. It is difficult for Europe to discover the requisite securities as a basis for the necessary credits. Europe is not in a position at the present time to send us the amount of gold which would be needed, and we could not view further large imports of gold into this country without concern. The result, to say the least, would be a larger disarrangement of international exchange and disturbance of international trade.

If we wish to have Europe settle her debts, governmental or commercial, we must be prepared to buy from her, and if we wish to assist Europe and ourselves by the export either of food, of raw materials, or of finished products, we must be prepared to welcome commodities which we need and which Europe will be prepared, with no little pain, to send us.

Clearly, this is no time for the erection here of high trade barriers. It would strike a blow at the large and successful efforts which have been made by many of our great industries to place themselves on an export basis. It would stand in the way of the normal readjustment of business conditions throughout the world, which is as vital to the welfare of this country as to that of all the other nations. The United States has a duty to itself as well as to the world, and it can discharge this duty by widening, not by contracting, its world markets.

This measure has only slight interest so far as its prospective revenue yields are concerned. It is estimated that the aggregate addition to the Nation's income from its operation for ten months would be less than $72,000,000, and of this more than half would arise from the proposed duty on sugar. Obviously this and much more can be secured in ways known to the Congress, which would be vastly less burdensome to the American consumer and American industry.

The rates, however, have a peculiar interest. In practically every case they either equal or exceed those established under the Payne-Aldrich act, in which the principle of protection reached its high-water mark, and the enactment of which was followed by an effective exhibition of protest on the part of the majority of the American people. I do not believe that the sober judgment of the masses of the people of the

Nation, or even of the special class whose interests are immediately affected by this measure, will sanction a return, especially in view of conditions which lend even less justification for such action, to a policy of legislation for selfish interests which will foster monopoly and increase the disposition to look upon the Government as an instrument for private gain instead of an instrument for the promotion of the general well-being.

Such a policy is antagonistic to the fundamental principle of equal and exact justice to all, and can only serve to revive the feeling of irritation on the part of the great masses of the people and of lack of confidence in the motives of rulers and the results of government.

APPENDIX C

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS CONSISTS OF

1. The Assembly.
2. The Council.
3. The Secretariat.
4. The International Labor Bureau.
5. The Court of International Justice.

Nos. 4 and 5 are absolutely independent of the League of Nations except as to finances.

1. THE ASSEMBLY: The Assembly consists of representatives of all the states which are members of the League. Each state may send no more than three representatives to meetings of the Assembly, but the whole delegation has only a single vote.

Each country appoints its delegates to the Assembly in its own way—usually the Prime Minister nominates them.

Women are qualified to sit in the Assembly.

The Assembly meets regularly at Geneva on the first Monday of September.

The President of the Assembly is elected each year. The Assembly has six large committees which discuss each subject referred to them and report to the Assembly. These committees deal with legal and constitutional questions, technical questions, questions relating to economics, health, transit, etc., disarmament, the budget of the League, humanitarian questions, and others, such as mandates, etc.

The Assembly has practically no power of action except as to the election of new members of the League.

It is really a debating society, and represents the public opinion of the world.

2. THE COUNCIL: The Council is the only body which can take effective action in the name of the League, and in it is vested the whole direction of the action of the League. No active measure, no policy, no recommendation as to the action of the Governments composing the League can be taken without the unanimous vote of the Council.

The Council consists of representatives—originally of eight, and at the present time of ten states. Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Germany have permanent seats in the Council. There are also states which hold non-permanent seats, elected annually by the Assembly, not by the Council itself.

In addition any League state is entitled to a seat in the Council during the discussion of any question especially affecting it.

The Council meets regularly four times each year, and as much oftener as the business in hand may require. The sittings are usually held in Geneva, but about once a year the Council sits in some of the great nations' capitals.

3. THE SECRETARIAT: The Secretariat consists of a large number of officers and employees, about 340 in all, and they are stationed in the League building. They are appointed from all the nations, and carry out the work of the League, by which they are paid. They are divided into different sections, *e.g.*, political and technical organizations, etc., mandates, health, social questions, information, legal questions, etc. They are at work day and night.

4. THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION: This organization was not created by the League, but by the Versailles Treaty. All members of the League,

however, are members of the International Labor Organization.

The Organization is absolutely independent of the League except for purposes of finance. It has a director, and holds frequent conferences and conventions to which delegates representing the governments, representatives of employees and of labor attend. It publishes weekly and monthly journals on labor questions, and also frequent reports on special questions. It holds general conferences and conventions covering such subjects as the eight-hour day, the forty-eight-hour weekly work, unemployment, employment of women, minimum age of children in industry, and many other kindred subjects.

5. The Court of International Justice: The Council of the League formulated a plan for this Court, as provided in Article 14 of the League Covenant, and submitted it to the individual states which were members of the League. The plan of the Court was worked out by a Commission of distinguished jurists appointed by the Council of the League. The separate states ratified this plan in the protocol of December 16, 1920.

The Court consists of eleven ordinary judges and four deputy judges. The judges are elected for terms of nine years by the separate concurrent votes of the Council and Assembly of the League, from an eligible list named by the Permanent Court of Arbitration of The Hague, by each country represented in that organization.

The Court applies, in its decisions, established principles of international law and custom, and laws established by treaties. Its jurisdiction is purely voluntary, but provision is made whereby nations who so wish may agree that its jurisdiction shall be compulsory.

The Court may render advisory opinions when called upon by the Council of the League, but under a rule of the Court *all nations interested must be notified and given an opportunity of being heard before the advisory opinion is rendered.*

VOTING POWER IN THE LEAGUE: Every decision of the Council of the League must be unanimous, except in matters of procedure.

In the *Assembly,* every decision must be unanimous, except as to matters of procedure and the election of new members of the League, in which latter case a two-thirds majority of the Assembly may elect. In the election of new members by the Assembly and in all questions voted on by the Assembly involving any action, it is provided that the affirmative vote of every nation in the Assembly which is represented in the Council is indispensable.

The objection has been raised that Great Britain has seven votes in the Assembly through membership of her colonies in the League, and that in voting for judges of the International Court she would have a greater voting power than a state having no colonies. The election of judges, however, requires a concurrent vote of both the Council and Assembly. Therefore, any one opposing vote in the Council would prevent the election of any judge. If the United States, for example, were in the League and in the Council, or if it sat with the Council in the election of judges, it could, by its vote, defeat any member proposed for the office of judge.

THE OFFICIAL EXPENSES OF THE LEAGUE: These, covering the League itself, the Labor Organization and the World Court, amount to about $4,700,000 per year. The expenses of the League are apportioned among the nations in proportion to their resources.

Should the United States join the League, its annual expense would be about $400,000—hardly more than the expense of the smokestacks of one modern battleship. The return for this national insurance at the rate of about four mills per capita, could hardly be overestimated!

"The relation between war and taxation is strikingly shown in the analysis of the Government's expenditures for 1920, as made by Edward B. Rosa, Chief Physicist of the Bureau of Standards.

"Out of every dollar you give to the Government in taxes, more than ninety cents goes to pay for wars, past and future, and a scant one cent is spent on research, education and development work, including care of the Public Health.

"Dr. Rosa figures out the share of every man, woman and child as $53.50 in last year's tax bill. Divided about as the Government actually spent it, we may charge $50.00 to expenses of war, past and to come; $2.00 to primary government functions—executive, legislative and judicial—with about a dollar left for all the Government's other myriad activities, including research, education and development."—"The Nation's Business." (*Published by the United States Chamber of Commerce.*)

"The amounts spent by this Government in aid of agriculture and business, for science, education, better roads and other constructive efforts, are *insignificant* when compared with outlays due to war and national defense, which compose *over 80 per cent of total federal expenditures.*

"This will be the inevitable situation as long as war is the method of settling international disputes.

"These facts should be faced squarely by those who clamor for reduced Government expenditures and at the same time *oppose* the world's efforts to devise rational methods for dealing with international questions."—*Annual Report for 1925 of Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon.*

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT

ADOPTED BY THE
PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE
APRIL 28, 1919

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

PREAMBLE

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES

In order to promote international coöperation and to secure international peace and security

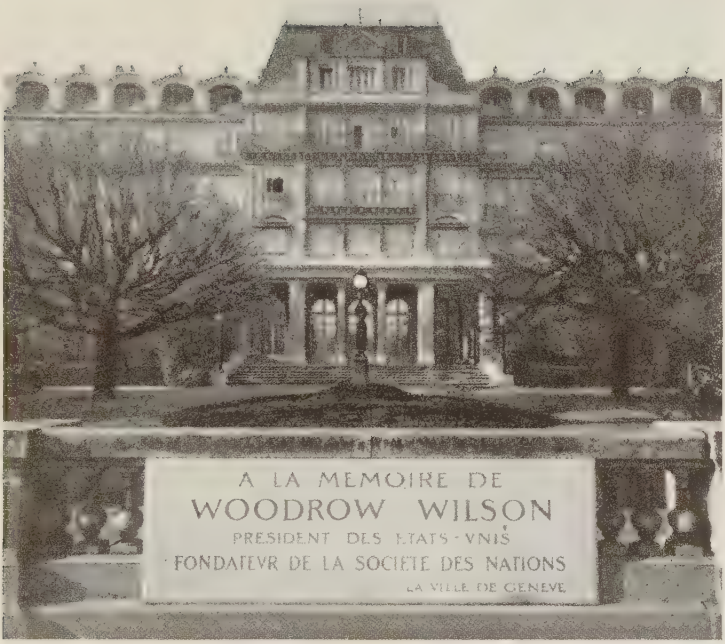
by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,

by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations,

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and

by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another,

AGREE TO THIS COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.



"ONLY ONE CONQUEROR'S WORK WILL ENDURE,—WILSON'S THOUGHT."

—Maximilian Harden.

Article 1

The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

Article 2

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

Article 3

The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives.

Article 4

The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any

matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

Article 5

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Article 6

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary General

shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

Article 7

The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

Article 8

The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

Article 9

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

Article 10

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the terri-

torial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Article 11

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

Article 12

The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time,

and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

Article 13

The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the Court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what step should be taken to give effect thereto.

Article 14

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the

establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

Article 15

If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any Members of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of

the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the Members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case

of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

Article 16

Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the

necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are coöperating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

Article 17

In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16, inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may

take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

Article 18

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

Article 19

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

Article 20

The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

Article 21

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

Article 22

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandataries on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of

administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatary until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatary.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatary must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatary, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatary as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the Mandatary shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatary shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to

receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandataries and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

Article 23

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League:

(*a*) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organization;

(*b*) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

(*c*) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;

(*d*) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;

(*e*) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection the special necessities of the regions

devastated during the war of 1914–1918 shall be borne in mind;

(*f*) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Article 24

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

Article 25

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and coöperation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

Article 26

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

THE END